F *648 185 A [177]

3. Even if the Ezo were on our side, there could be little cooperation since they understand neither our language nor our customs.

He then lists three advantages for Russia:

1. Russia has a cold climate. Their people are used to fighting in the cold and it would be easy for them to come to a place with a warmer climate.

2. The main Russian food is meat. They would have no trouble with a food supply for the Ezo also feed on meat.

3. Since the Ezo are uncivilized and easily impressed by size, they would surrender in no time were the Russians to bring their battleships along.

A F *648 *175 185

He felt that Japan ought to consider itself fortunate that the Russians had not as yet launched an invasion and "should take advantage of this opportunity to cultivate the island, prepare it for defense, educate the Ezo, and make them citizens of our country so that the Russians will not dare to attack." He continues that the Russians are slowly but surely advancing southward and if their movements are not checked the Ezo will come under their sway even if the Russians had in the past had no such intentions. For the fact is that the Russians intend to educate the natives and win them over to their side. If there were no Russian threat it would be all right to continue our easy-going policy in Ezo. But with the situation one of serious concern to the safety of our country we should lose no time in educating these people and bringing them over to our side. At the same time we must teach them that the Russians are to be despised and that their rules and regulations are evil. He states: "while we educate the Ezo we ought to be prepared to defend the island if necessary." He then lists three advantages in educating the Ezo:

1. The Japanese have had contact with the Ezo for a long time and the two people are familiar to each other.

A [262] [273] [276]

2. The Ezo have a great love for rice, sake, and tobacco. Since the Russians have little of these, if we refuse to give them to those Ezo who follow the Russians it will soon discourage Ezo-Russian relationships.

A [821] ● [776]

3. Since the ignorant Ezo have a great fear and respect for the sun and the moon they can be very easily handled by telling them of the glorious history of our country, emphasizing the role of the sun and moon goddesses and telling them that it is the desire of these deities that the Ezo become part of Japan. It would be an easy task, he believed, to bring the educated Ezo into subjection. He elaborates his ideas on education and he objects to establishing temples with special priests as their power may become great as in the case of the Ikkōshū[b] sect on the mainland and this would

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[b] The largest and most prosperous of the Buddhist sects possessing at one time thousands of temples and millions of adherents and having great temporal power.

F *648 797 *175 792

> for forty days and the behavior of the priests accompanying him was unmentionable. One day the priests went to a restaurant called Yatsugashira and held a wild party calling in many entertainers. The person acting as a guard for the priests was too dumbfounded to interfere and when the bill, which amounted to a considerable sum, was brought, he showed it to the priests. The priests then flew into a rage saying that that was no way to treat them and threatening to go to the chief civil authority about the matter. Then Shiratori Shinjiro, a man of experience, who had been there since the days of the Bakufu administration appeared on the scene and told them there was no reason why they should not pay the bill since it affected the virtue of their holy position. The priests had nothing more to say. On the day of their departure when a lunch was served them at Nanaehama, one of the priests, complaining that the rice was cold, returned to Hakodate, demanded gold and is said to have then spent the night at a restaurant.[44]

Against this tale, however, must be balanced such tales of successful mission work as are found in *Ezo Kōran* [Perspective of Ezo] which is concerned with the activities of the Zenkōji temple—the most successful of the three temples.[45]

A F 797 *648 *175 ● 776

We may conclude then that the effect, if any, of Buddhist missionary work, was limited to a small area and that it was superficial with slight spiritual impact on the life of the Ezo. Aside from Buddhist temples, the Bakufu also set up a number of shrines in order to control native religious life. Various gods were enshrined near the *Unjōya* during the pre-Bakufu period and some of these gods were harmonized with the ways of the Ezo. When the Bakufu took over, Hachiman [the War God] was enshrined at each *Kaishō*.[46] It is especially interesting to note that Kondō Juzo established a shrine for Yoshitsune. Kondō may have believed the legend that Minamoto Yoshitsune crossed to Ezo and was later worshipped by the natives.[47] He

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[44] Onōdera Ken, *Ezo Kikan* [Wonders of Ezo] Suppl. Vol.

F [797] [792]

[45] "A priest of high virtue was recently selected, upon order from the Bakufu, from among the priests of the Shibazōjōji temple, to become the head of the Zenkōji temple at Usu. Upon arrival in Ezo, this priest worked diligently in an effort to teach Buddhist prayers to the natives. However, none of the Ezo obliged because they could not understand these prayers. The priest, therefore, taking advantage of the fact that the Ezo were fond of sake, distilled unrefined sake and informed the natives that anyone saying the prayers would be given a free treat. Thus the natives, wishing to drink sake, began to say their prayers. In later years it became understood among the Ezo that to go to the temple for prayers was tantamount to going for a free drink and the temple was crowded to its capacity with natives, who, for the sake of the treat, were chanting prayers."

A [275]

[46] "It is expected that one Hachiman shrine will be established at each *Basho* supported by the Bakufu." Ezochi otorishimari narabi ni. . ., in *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 559.

F A [173]

[47] The legend that Minamoto no Yoshitsune did not meet his death at Koromogawa but managed to escape to Ezo where he was held in great honor is invariably found in any publication pertaining to Ezo such as *Ezo Ki*, *Hokkai Zuihitsu*, *Ezo Kiji*, *Ezo Shi*, etc., and by the time of the first period of direct administration by the Bakufu, it had become an unquestionable legend. Kondō Juzo believed in this legend as

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did enshrine Yoshitsune at Saru which was alleged to have been the capital of the Ezo and the success he achieved is unknown since the Ezo were animists and not idolators but his intention is understandable. Kondō also set up shrines at Kunashiri, Akkeshi, and other places, and taught the natives to worship at them.[48]

6. LAW

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Another noteworthy matter of policy was the enactment of simple laws in Ezo. The Matsumae had regarded the Ezo as aliens yet to be assimilated and consequently all internal affairs of the natives were left to the natives to settle except incidents involving Japanese. When the Bakufu took the view that the Ezo were part of Japan, it became necessary to enact some kind of law in the island. Since the Ezo were not accustomed to Japanese ways, it was considered unfair as well as a hindrance to government to enforce the laws and penalties of the mainland. Therefore, Hayashi of the Education Ministry, acting on the three articles of the pledge of the Founder of the Han Dynasty made to the leaders of Shensi, drafted three articles for enactment into law in Ezo.

1. Heavy penalties will be imposed on persons believing in perverted religions and persons becoming friendly with foreigners.
2. The death penalty will be imposed on those who commit murder.
3. Persons who do injury to others or who commit theft shall be punished according to the seriousness of the crime.

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According to Hayashi's explanations of the draft, light crimes were to be punished by a maximum sentence of three to five years at hard labor on the roads with the culprit to be shaven bald, while the penalty for misdemeanors was to be left in the hands of the administrative courts.[49] In addition to the above three clauses

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can be seen from a letter he wrote to Furukawa Koshōken in June 1799:

"Millet is called *monjiro* and barnyard grass is called *biyaba*. It is said that when Minamoto no Yoshitsune came to this land years ago, he taught the natives how to plant them. At Saru and Mukawa the natives have set up wreaths at places where Yoshitsune is said to have resided." *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1: 22. The *Kimura Shikyō* . . . also states that this legend was believed without doubt.

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[48] It is noted in the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . that on July 23 Kondō Juzo and his party set up a small shelter at Atoiya in Kunashiri and erected in its vicinity a Hangan shrine [a shrine to Minamoto Yoshitsune] and instructed the natives as follows: "A Hangan shrine has been established here and it is requested that the shrine be worshipped."

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On October 10 the natives, on the occasion of the enthronement of a god at Akkeshi received the following instructions: "To worship this god is to worship the god of Edo and it is as holy a god as the god of the sun and the moon. This god bestows good luck on the virtuous and bad luck on the evil; is pleased by those who work hard but despises those who are lazy. This god protects Ezo and its surrounding sea so it is desired that this god be worshipped at all times without fail" [also given in Ainu].

[49] "If too many strict laws are enacted in an uncivilized land, it is true that these laws will act as obstacles in ruling the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927

AB6 Ainu AB6

824 The same may be said of vegetation. Take a tree, for example. What one really sees is not the tree itself but its shadow or outward expression only. The wood and leaves, that is to say the material parts alone, are to be seen with the material part of man, namely his eyes. The tree itself, that is to say the life, spirit or genius of the tree, is hidden under its shadow. The trunk, branches, leaves, flowers and fruit are but expressions—manifestations—of the tree spirit which is the real substance.

827 It is the same with inorganic things. Inorganic objects are supposed to have life. The outward material parts may decay, but the real thing, *i.e.* the life, merely changes its conditions and manifests itself in and by something else, a demon, for instance, taking the form of disease or some kind of animal, fish, bird or mineral. No life can ever be lost and it must ever manifest itself in something else somehow and somewhere.

829 ● 776 It may be said with manifest truth that it is a fundamental doctrine among this people that God is the macrocosm and man the microcosm. Where we would naturally say that man is quite anthropomorphic in his ideas about God, the Ainu would say no, not so, man is theomorphic in his make up. Man, who is spirit, is endowed with the attributes of the gods. And so it happens that sometimes in prayer I have heard old men place themselves on a level with the gods and undertake to give them a sound scolding for not having answered favourably certain requests they have made them. And I have heard people threaten that they would not offer them any more libations of whisky or make any more fetishes for their honour unless they repented. I have also heard them address departed ancestors and friends in the same way.

776 The Ainu invest their gods with bodies, parts, and passions like their own. The bodies of the gods are shaped like those of men, but are built up of finer or

more spiritualized material, and they have greater 776
powers and are capable of both visible and invisible locomotion. But it is always the true spirit within and underlying any given manifestation which is the true divinity. Thus the gods can even go out and kill one another, as men can, in the sense of driving one another out of their present bodies. But of course these gods—spirits—can immediately take on other forms.

Deceased friends and ancestors are supposed to be 775
present at times among the people they have left behind. Though unseen, they are able to render material assistance to the living, or to afflict them if they think they deserve it. Sometimes they appear to men in dreams, either to warn or encourage them. It is also believed that gods, demons and men sometimes appear to the living in the assumed forms of birds, fishes, bears and other animals, to deliver messages. When their purpose has been accomplished, these return immediately to their proper, natural form.

As regards dreams, I have seen people go almost 828
mad on account of them, and on such occasions they 775
need a great deal of kind sympathy. A very short time ago, our whole household was terribly upset because one of our servants who had died some time before appeared, so they said, as a ghost and walked about the house. It took quite a long time to quiet them and bring them round to normal. He had broken a pane of glass and got in. And indeed the broken pane was shown me as evidence! Undoubtedly they saved themselves a scolding thereby.

By keeping such fundamentals as these in mind 114
when perusing this book, the reader will be helped greatly to a right understanding. Among much dross in this old-world ore, a quantity of good stuff may be found and many grains of pure gold and brilliant gems of psychic truth picked up by the thoughtful. The whole world is undoubtedly akin and among all races

826 The lad himself thought likewise, and I am sure the auto-suggestion thus brought about injured his health.

302 The hair of both men and women was cut off just
826 above the shoulders at the sides, and at the back in the form of a quarter moon. When clipping the hair, as was, of course, sometimes necessary, the people were very careful not to allow an enemy to get hold of any of it. Should he obtain even a little, he might practise sympathetic magic by praying over it for evil to rest upon the original possessor. Or he might bury it and thus cause the man's body to grow weak and his life to fade away. I find an echo of this belief in what an Ainu once told me. It was this:

177 "In the days of the Tokugawa régime the people
302 were ordered to cut their hair in Japanese style. Upon this order going forth, the chiefs of Yezo (now called Hokkaidō) held a great meeting at which it was decided to send a deputation to beg that the order might be rescinded. "For," said the people, "we could not go contrary to the customs of our ancestors without bringing down upon us the wrath of the gods." And, although a few of the Ainu living at Mori did cut their hair as commanded, the people as a whole were let off, much to their delight. It may be added in this place that, although there are still Ainu at Mori, they have become so Japonized in thought, customs and language, as well as in dress, that they are indistinguishable from the Japanese among whom they dwell.

302 But there are exceptions in which hair cutting was
765 not only allowed but actually commanded. They were
826 in cases of death where mourning for the dead was considered necessary and proper. One order about this was as follows. "Should a man lose his wife by death, let him immediately cut his hair and assume a general look of dejection. But he may not, as is done in the case of the women, wear a hood upon his head, because
● [776] he must worship the gods and mix with men. It is not befitting in a man to approach the gods having his

head covered. Should anyone cut his hair, unless it 302
be on the occasion of a death, misfortune will follow; 765
either he himself or some of his near relations will 826
die soon after it. So have the gods taught. Let all 776
therefore beware."

Another legend runs thus: "In ancient times, when 539
the Divine One came down from heaven to teach the people, he said: 'Let any woman whose husband dies cut and pluck her hair out and look very miserable. Let her also wear a hood upon her head. If she does not look sad and remain apart from other people, someone might want to marry her and that would be a very bad thing to do. No widow should allow her hair to [587]
grow long again, nor should anyone who has lost a husband or wife remarry. This is because husbands and wives rejoin one another in the world beyond the grave.'" So taught Aeoina the Divine. But, although 178
superstitions die hard, the barber has now come in, so that this one respecting the hair is rapidly disappearing, for both young men and women now dress their hair in foreign fashion.

Apropos of this matter, it is very interesting to 171
remark that it is reported how Satan himself once 302
preached a sermon from the pulpit of North Berwick Church, in which he comforted his many servants by telling them that so long as their hair was on, no harm could come to them!

But speaking more particularly to the point of the 144
general appearance of this people—one friend said to me when visiting them, "How very like the Japanese some of them are! Look at those children! Why, I see no difference between them and the Japanese boys and girls playing with them!" But this, I pointed out, was not at all to be wondered at, considering what we know about child adoption and intermarriage. Of course they resemble one another, as we find them doing throughout the whole of Japan. Adoption of Japanese children has in past ages been one great way [597]

304 manner, she commits a great sin, and when she dies will go straight to hell." The men said, "Untattooed
[775 women may not take part in any feast, for to do so
562] would mean dishonouring the gods and men alike. Indeed, it would bring down the wrath of heaven upon both themselves and the assembled guests. Women untattooed go to hell when they die, and upon getting there the demons assemble with big knives and do all the tattooing at one sitting." This indeed, would be very painful.

One day I heard the following statement made as to the reason for tattooing the girls and women: "There is a good deal of bad blood in women which must be taken out. Tattooing was therefore introduced as a means of letting some out and so keeping the body strong." Another person said, "Tattoo marks are placed especially upon the lips and arms because
[753 they are the most conspicuous parts of the body. They
776] are put there to frighten away the demons of disease. Now, the wives of the gods of heaven are every one of them thus tattooed, so when the demons come and find the Ainu women marked in the same way they mistake them for goddesses and forthwith flee away." Again they say, "When the eyes of old women are growing
[753] dim, they should retattoo their mouths, for thereby do they strengthen their eyes." And once more. "Should contagious disease strike a village, the women should retattoo one another, and this will drive the demons away."

304 What ingenuity! What artful stratagems they
178 have worked up to save the life of a dying custom! But all is in vain. The rapidity with which things have progressed here since the Japanese have taken a real and kindly hold on matters is phenomenal. Since 1876, when I first came to Hokkaidō, things have gone on so rapidly that when comparing Then with Now I feel myself to be a very Rip Van Winkle.

was searching for young sparrows. It looked very 117
uncanny to see the reptile turning and twisting about in his progress, and I expected every moment to see him tumble down to the floor of the hut. Perhaps he was the mate of the one I had killed. Penri, who hated and feared such creatures, gave a frightened scream and stared above him in terror. I knew the old man had a long Japanese spear lying along the beams of his dwelling, and so the first thing I did was to grasp this weapon, take off its sheath and transfix the reptile with the sharp blade. Having killed him, I carried him out of the house and threw him away. But on coming in again, I found the chief full of indignation because I had killed the snake with his spear! He angrily told me that I might keep that spear, for, as it 776
had killed a demon, he would have it no longer. "It is yours now and not mine," he said. I thought it was very kind of him to give it me, but after all it was fear, and not good will, which prompted him to do so. He was afraid, as I well know now, that the snake might retaliate for what had been done to him, but now, as it was my spear which had done the deed and not his, the vengeance would fall on me and not on him! This may sound very strange, but legends will appear as we go on which will show that such are common ideas among the Ainu people.

Chief Penri had his ancient mother living with him, 593
and a veritable old hag she was. If I looked at her [592]
she always turned her back on me, and when it was quite necessary for her to face me it was always with a very savage, fierce eye and black scowl. If Mr. Black-Lily's wife was anything like her, I am not surprised at his not wanting to meet her hereafter. One face like that would surely spoil everything. If she thought her son was too communicative with me, she would show him such a malicious expression of face and give vent to such angry words that he would ask to be allowed to take a rest, and so we would go out and

along and caught me away again and this time changed 539
my body into that of a bird. Yet, although I am like a bird in outward appearance, my voice will always be human, and my cry will ever be, "Hapo totto, Huchi totto," "O mother, feed me, O granny, feed me." Such was the dream. After the people had dreamed this, they awoke and went to the place where the cry had been heard. Upon arrival they saw a bird which was in bodily shape something like a cradle, and the cry was indeed as though one said, "O mother, feed me, O granny, feed me." For this reason the people call the goat-sucker 'Tokitto.'"

As such is the origin of the cry of this bird, and 000
as the sound of its note is so like a child calling, "O [136]
mother, feed me, O granny, feed me," the women, remembering its origin, weep bitterly every time they hear it. Whenever, therefore, the people hear this bird, they say to one another, "There is the cry of the Tokitto," for they may not say *totto chikap*, 'Breast bird,' because the very mention of that name makes the poor women weep much, and it also makes them think of their lost offspring. Again, the goat-sucker
only flies about and cries during the night time. The [776]
reason of this is that the horrid demon of swampy places only comes out at night and works in the dark, and this bird, having now a demon nature, resembles her in that habit. Thus we see that the goat-sucker was a human being in the beginning, a dear little baby, but is now, alas, a dreadful demon. The name of the demon is *Nitat Unarabe*, and this means, "Aunt Marsh."

252 eat it raw, but if too much is taken, it causes scrofula or boils.

782 All things are looked upon as gods or demons in their own sphere and order. Cereals are said to be gods and are worshipped, and eating the firstfruits is a religious act. Thus an Ainu gave me the following lore on this subject. It is a prayer to the god of cereals.

788 "O thou Cereal Deity, we worship thee. Thou hast grown very well this year, and thy flavour will be sweet. Thou art good. The Goddess of Fire will be glad, and we shall rejoice greatly. O thou god, O divine cereal, do thou nourish the people. We now partake of thee. We worship thee and give thee thanks." After having thus prayed, the worshipper takes a cake and eats it, and from this time the common people may all begin to eat the new millet.

And so with many gestures of homage and words of prayer this kind of food is dedicated to the well-being of the people.

782 ●776 No doubt the cereal offering is regarded as a tribute paid to God, but that god is none other than the vital principle in the seed itself; and it is only a god in so far as it is beneficial to the human body. The conclusion I have arrived at from this and other examples is that the cereals are considered as a kind of totem gods, and that the Ainu idea of holding communion with such gods is by eating them and thus partaking of their goodness and life-giving essence. The same idea underlies the bear festival.

576 264 On a certain occasion I gave some cauliflower seeds to an Ainu friend, but on going to pay him a visit later, found the plants in danger of running to seed. Upon asking him and his wife why they had not cut and eaten them, the lady replied: "You yourself have not yet partaken of them. We cannot touch them till you have first eaten some." Of course I cut some at once, cooked them, and was very glad to dedicate

787 This incident of the "call" of our servant brings to mind an ancient Northern Ainu tradition concerning an old man who was subject to such impulses.

In the following translation the word given me for "psychic impulses" is quite interesting. It really means "carried along by one's own soul," and so refers to a subjective state of mind. It comes from the Northern Ainu and was told me many years ago. The Ainu text may be found under Number 36 of my "Ainu Fireside Stories."

539 "One winter an old man subject to psychic impulses went for some reason or other into the mountains. Here he made a lodge of pine branches and dwelt in it. In the evening, when he was asleep, a voice came to him which said,

" 'O man over there, O man over there, you are in a dream, you are dreaming.' Such was the voice. Upon hearing this he immediately became quite unconscious. Thereupon there appeared at the bottom end of the hearth an old woman wearing a sealskin coat and smoking a long pipe. Then the old man rose up with the intention of going outside to some person who was calling him; but the old woman, who was sitting at the end of the hearth smoking, thrust him back with her wrist. And so he woke up. On looking round the woman could not be seen. The next day he went out to reconnoitre, and found that a pine marten had called him from behind his lodge."

787 776 So much for this *multum in parvo* lore. Now to explain briefly. During his trance the man thought he heard someone calling him from outside and so he got up with the intention of going to see who it could be. But an old woman, whom he saw in his trance, swept him roughly back with her fore arm. This rough usage saved his life. It was *Unchi*, called by some *Huchi*, and by some *Fuji*, the Goddess of Fire, who thus saved him.

The one outside, calling, was the spirit of a pine 776 ● marten who wished to lure him out to kill him. These creatures abound in this part of the world. The Ainu hunt them for their skins, which are very valuable. The old man had been so irreligious as not to offer the customary wand fetishes to the spirits of the animals he had killed when hunting. This had offended them greatly, so that they had inspired him to come into the mountains where they could take vengeance and kill him in return!

It should be borne in mind that in the Ainu idea, 761 the killing of an animal does not imply the ex- 775 tinction of its life, as will appear more and more clearly as we proceed. No life can ever be extinguished; it simply goes away to return later. And so, when killed, everything must be treated with due respect.

In my converse with Parapita and others, I have 522 found them to be not at all lacking in wit on occasion. He was once out travelling with me in the far interior. Our old servant was quite bright sometimes in his way. I had my gun with me in case of meeting a bear or coming across something to eat for supper. As we were going along, he pointed to something moving among the bushes. I thereupon dismounted and fired at what I supposed to be a wolf or fox. Whatever it was immediately bounded off into the forest, but left something behind him. On going to the spot, my servant picked up half a hare which he brought to me. Evidently the animal—wolf or fox—was surprised in the act of devouring his breakfast. We took our half along with us and Parapita proceeded to skin it as soon as we reached an inn in the evening. The inn-keeper saw this and wanted to know how it came to pass that he had but half an animal to skin.

This is the conversation I heard between them.

Inn-keeper. What have you got there?

Ainu. As you see, merely half a hare.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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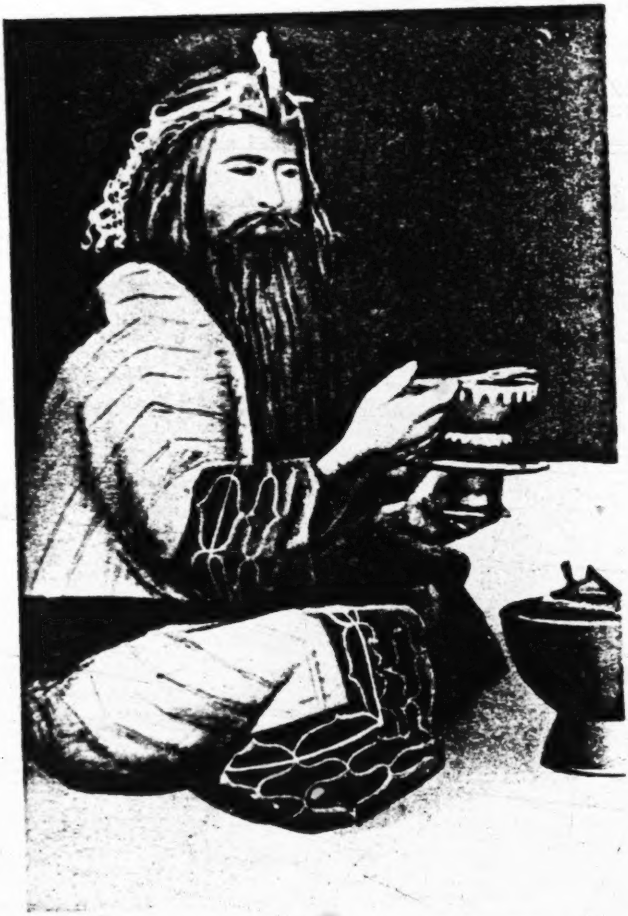

AINU CHIEF ABOUT TO WORSHIP THE FIRE GODDESS

[p. 112]

823 ed is without doubt the real cause of tidal waves. Every now and then he takes in a vast quantity of water, and then with an extraordinary effort suddenly shoots it out of his mouth in one mighty blow. It is this act which causes the sea to overflow the land sometimes."

829 "But," I asked, "why do the gods allow this? If
821 they cared so much for the people, surely they would put a stop to it." "Yes," he said, "one would perhaps
[776] think so. But it must be remembered that there are demon gods as well. These get into the fish sometimes and work him up. They make him move, and when he does move, the earth, of course, moves also, for it rests upon his back, and this causes the earthquake. If he moves gently, the quake is small, and if violently, the quake is big. So as this is such a very unreliable and dangerous creature the Creator in His goodness has sent two mighty gods to stand one on either side of him day and night, in order to keep him quiet. These most wonderful divine beings always keep one hand each on him to hold him down and so prevent any severe movements. Whether they eat or drink, they must each without fail keep one hand on the monster; they may never take it off for an instant."

When he had finished the old man added for my instruction, "As this then is the true cause of these things, the old men have said, when they have seen their children eating with only one hand, which is a very wrong thing to do, 'It is only the gods who stand guard over the world's Backbone-fish who are allowed to eat with only one hand; are you those gods?' Thus do they rebuke them."

772 I asked the chief how far below it is to the back of
539 this foundation fish. "Ah," he said, "that I can not tell. No one knows. But it is very far down, for there are six worlds under ours, the lowest of which is called *Chirama moshiri,* i.e. "Lowest world." This is not regarded as a place of darkness, but as a very beautiful

114 784 ground, I following behind. The sparks from the touch-wood, he told me, always cleared the "demons" off the track.

000 Talking of this incident afforded me a fine opportunity of getting all I could out of him about Ainu lore respecting the ophidian tribe, and what follows now is the result.

773 ● [776] "The world we live in is, under the Creator, governed by the goddess of fire as His deputy. Originally this goddess had her home in heaven above, but was sent down by the Creator to take care of the world. Having heard that it was determined that she should leave her heavenly home and descend to this earth, the serpent, being enamoured of her, desired to come down in her company. Hearing his ardent love, the goddess, trying to dissuade him from this course, informed him that if he descended with her he would be obliged to endure fire, which would be exceedingly hard for him. Notwithstanding all this, however, he declared himself ready to brave everything if only he might be permitted to accompany her. And so, after having received full permission, he came down with her in a flash of lightning. Here he has been ever since and here he is to remain.

"This serpent, descending as he did in a flash of lightning, fell with such mighty force that his fall made a large hole in the ground. Even at the present day some of his offspring who were left behind in heaven, having a longing to visit their father, likewise descend in lightning and the force of their fall also makes holes in the ground.* These holes, when known to exist, should by no means be approached, for they lead down to Hades, which is now believed to be the true home of the earthly serpent kind. The original

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*The holes here referred to are those made by aerolites.

CHAPTER XX

CHIEF PENRI'S MOTHER DIES

One day Penri and I were out walking as usual, 117 when I found that he most strongly objected to going to a particular spot I wished to see, not far from the path. Nothing I could say would induce him to go near the place and he was exceedingly anxious that I should not go either. After a great deal of questioning, he confessed that he was afraid to go there because someone had been buried at that spot. The idea prompting him to keep away from the grave was a religious one, and thoroughly in line with his animistic belief. He was certain that the human spirit still [775 lived on, haunting the place, and that if disturbed it 776] would do both bodily and spiritual harm to any who intruded on its domain, for it was then very busy withdrawing itself from its gross matter as it decayed, and must not be interfered with. When he told me this, I remembered something which happened some time before. It was this.

About 11 o'clock one morning, as I was sitting by the hearth writing up my notes, the chief came to me with a look of real concern on his countenance, and asked me if I would very kindly stay indoors all day and not even look out of the window. He himself had to be excused till late in the afternoon. Without question I at once consented to do as he wished, whereat he seemed greatly relieved. As soon as he returned about 5 p.m., he came up to me and asked whether I had kept my promise, and when I replied, "Yes, to the very letter," he was delighted and said, "Then that's all right. Thank you." When I inquired as to where

761 right before her very eyes and all were talking about the funeral! They were embroidering gloves for her hands in patterns of white, and also socks, a head-dress and an outer garment. They chatted in quite a lively way, the dying lady herself joining in. I told her that she ought to be quiet and asked her if she really wanted to die. "Oh, no. I want to live," she said.

I treated her in my own fashion for twenty minutes, by which time all of what she designated as "spear-thrust-picking-pains," which came every time she breathed, had gone quite away, and her pulse had returned to normal. She declared that she felt quite cured. I gave her some gruel made very thin and packed off the women to their homes, telling them to retain their death wailings for another occasion. They went out giggling like a pack of hysterical school girls. The lady lived for ten years after this and kept well. I verily believe that apart from the illness, those terrible suggestions of death which the making of the clothing produced, would have killed her if I had not appeared on the scenes. However that may be, the point I desire to make is that this woman did not fear death in the least. And I know there are others like her in this.

117 As I was one day passing through the village of Piratori Panata, I heard a great wailing for the dead going on in the hut of an old friend named Kanturuka. He was a good old fellow of about eighty, and he had given me quite a big lot of old folk-lore and told me many stories. He was not much liked by some of the villagers, and was nicknamed the "divine hare." The [825 776] hare, I found, was looked upon as the very lowest of the animal divinities and the name was given to my friend because he was not regarded very highly by his neighbours. However, I liked him very well and we had many happy times together.

761 I walked in to see who had died and found that it was Kanturuka himself. He had fallen down in a fit,

some little time, because the spirit is supposed to eat 764
and drink the essences of these things, though the material parts remain the same.

After these viands have been properly arranged, [776]
the goddess of fire is worshipped. She is asked to take charge of the spirit of the deceased and lead it safely to the Creator of the World and Possessor of the Heavens. She is especially charged with various messages extolling the virtues of the dead one, and setting forth his praises. The corpse itself is also charged with kind messages to those who have passed over before, and the divine ancestor of the house is worshipped particularly on these occasions.

Before being buried, the corpse is addressed after this manner: "While you were alive you were an Ainu, just like one of us, but you have now become like unto
the gods, and can see and hear everything. We now [775]
offer this food and drink for your acceptance. You are now leaving us and going to Heaven. You will be a god. Before you leave us, we offer you such food and drink as you loved so much when among us. Please partake thereof, for this is our farewell feast, made especially for you. You have seen and mixed with your friends thus far, but can now no longer mingle with them. We straightway commit you to the Goddess of Fire, and so send you off to Heaven. Farewell."

After the food, which is called *pakekai*, i.e. "things carried on the back," has remained by the corpse for some time, it is taken and reverently divided among the nearest relations. By this time millet dumplings have been made and *saké* brought into the house. These are handed round to the guests, and each offers two or three drops to the manes of the dead. Every person then drinks a little and pours what is left before the fire as an offering to the Goddess of Fire, i.e. the family "grandmother," at the same time muttering a short prayer.

roof to dry. But these holes are very useful in other 342 ways. When fights take place inside between demons [776] and men or between gods and demons, the spirits of the slain ascend alive through them to heaven. And when the deceased ancestors of the people come to their children to accompany them to battle, they enter here and then all go off together to wage the war, and many fights take place in the air. There are many allusions to this in Ainu folklore.

The western part of any place is always regarded as [823] the lowest in esteem. This region, being the place 342 where the sun sets, is looked upon as the abode of dark- 778 ness and evil. Many fetishes are set up to the demons of evil and sickness at this end of the huts, both inside and out. The door leading from this quarter goes into an ante-chamber. In the south wall of this there is another door which leads into the open air. In the ante-chamber are stored fire-wood, garden tools and so forth. The dogs also, and these are the only native [231] domestic animals the Yezo Ainu kept, are allowed to occupy this place. That part of the house extending from the top of the east-end window is held in special honour. The right-hand corner is the place where all the treasures are kept, also a great number of family charms and fetishes. Upon the beams over these, heirlooms, old swords, bows and arrows, spears and fishing implements, properly decorated with shavings from willow wood, are stowed away. In long boxes next to these are preserved the special ornaments and clothing. Many old sword scabbards and other things may be seen decorating the wall here.

Respecting the east-end window the following folklore was told me:

"The east-end window is a very blessed thing and of great importance always. When the highest gods are worshipped or when prayers are said to the ancestors, they should often be addressed through this window. Also, when fetishes are placed among the big

CHAPTER XXIII

THE TWO HOUSEHOLD GODS

The fire as it exists upon the hearth and in volcanoes also has often been spoken of in these chapters as being a Goddess who is frequently worshipped. She is indeed a very important deity and figures much in Ainu thought and religion. She is called *Huchi* or *Fuji*, which means "Old Woman" and "Grandmother." I believe it to be the same *Fuji* as in Fuji no Yama, the peerless and sacred mountain of Japan, and this is therefore an old Ainu name. Fuji no Yama is a dormant volcano, and volcanoes are everywhere worshipped under the name *Fuji Kamui* (*i.e.* Divine Grandmother) by this people. It is my purpose in this chapter briefly to take this Goddess of Fire in hand and show what her special functions are supposed to be. Before doing so, however, I think it would be well to speak of *Fuji's* husband. 776 [372]

Fuji is a married lady and her man is of great importance, as every husband ought surely to be. As to the origin of ordinary fire, that is to say, of fire as used in common daily life out of doors and in, the Ainu have no theory excepting that the very first fire came down from Heaven as lightning. Their forefathers, we are told, produced it for themselves when necessary from sticks and drills of dry elm roots and tinder, and later by means of the flint and steel which they got with other things from their Japanese neighbours. Fuji's husband is called the Ancestral Governor of the House.

Any visitor to the Ainu is sure to find set up behind the lacquer-ware tubs and heirlooms in the north- [773]

776 778 eastern corner of such huts as he may be pleased to enter, a big fetish made with clustered willow shavings depending from the top of a thick stem. This is called by several names, as, for example, "Ancestral Governor of the House," "Household Fetish," and "Divine Householder." Like all other fetishes, this instrument is invested with mighty magic powers.

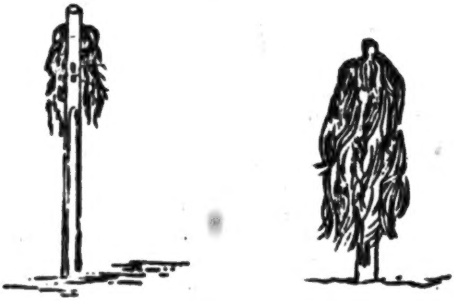
This fetish is of the male gender and is the most important one the men make. He is sometimes called the Divine Husband of the Fire upon the Hearth. On entering an Ainu hut, one hardly realizes that he is believed to be in the presence of two such mighty gods. But there is something very uncanny about this fetish [342] and the many skulls of animals one may sometimes see about it. I have often slept with my head in that sacred east corner, and the smell from the skulls kept there has sometimes been very strong and not at all fresh and nice. This fetish and his wife—the Fire—together are supposed to look after the welfare of the family and rule over them. These things are surely national totemistic signs, inasmuch as they connect the whole race in the bonds of one living clan or family. 776 769 The people are the children of one ancestral father and mother. They are both—fire and the fetish—worshipped, which worship was no doubt in the beginning an *In Memoriam* service, and had, without doubt, for its moving principle reverence for their forefathers. It is pertinent to remark here that just as *Ekashi* means "old man," so *Huchi* or *Fuji* means "old woman," and in some things they remind one of the Lares and Penates of old Rome, for with them the lar was conceived of not only as the house spirit but as the spirit of a deceased ancestor, and so we probably have here ancestor-worship amalgamated with the worship of a tutelary or guardian spirit. And in the fetish itself we have in the willow shavings a reference to the Ainu racial "birth-tree," which is the willow itself.

When I questioned Chief Penri on this matter, he 776
informed me that the pattern of the original household [342]
fetish was sent down from heaven by the Creator Himself;
not by Aeoina, but by the True God. The following
is the story he gave me, as reported to him by his
father before him. It is short but to the point, and 778
runs thus: "The deity who rules the household was 776
first made by the True God, Who, after He had made
him, sent him down from heaven to be the husband
of the Goddess of Fire and to help her to attend to the
wants of the Ainu. He is therefore called The Ancestral
Governor of the House." Other men besides Penri
have told me the same thing. This fetish is sometimes
brought out from his corner and set up by the hearth,
where he is worshipped together with his wife—the
Fire. It is interesting to note how this fetish is made.

One day when all the family were away from home, 778
the eldest son of a certain chief with whom I was well acquainted, took his father's household fetish out of the corner at my request, and brought it to me for examination. I asked him to explain how it was made. This is what he said: "A piece of wood about an inch thick is taken from a green lilac tree. This tree is chosen because it is a kind of wood which lasts a long time and does not easily rot when kept in the dry. This stick is to form the stem of the fetish and is called the *setoba*, i.e. body. It should be two feet or two feet and a half long. The lower end is sharpened so that it can be stuck in the ground. One part of it is shaved with a sharp knife from top to bottom, and this represents the front. Near the top a gash is cut right across it in imitation of a mouth, and a little lower down the *sambe*, i.e. heart, is carefully tied in. This heart consists of a red hot coal freshly taken from the hearth. It is firmly fixed to the "body" with a wisp of twisted willow shavings. After it has been well bound in, a number of long shavings taken from a fine willow tree are tied all round it so as to completely

778 hide the "body," notches having been cut in the stick so as to keep them from slipping down. After this has been respectfully done, it is reverently stuck in the ground by the fireside and the following dedicatory prayer is said to it:—

[788] "O Divine Fetish, you are henceforth to live in this house with the Goddess of Fire. You are to be her husband and your abiding place will be in the sacred treasure corner. Help Thou her to watch over us, we beseech Thee, and do Thou bless us.' After this prayer has been said, some saké drunk and some libations offered, this fetish is named 'Divine Ancestral House Governor." Such were the words of my informant. It is now installed and forthwith begins to take charge of the house with its consort. Then many other kinds of fetishes are made and offered to both of them with much prayer and festivity.



THE HOUSEHOLD FETISHES

342
778 The household has thus become a unit and complete in itself. In so far as social intercourse is concerned, the family is independent and works for itself, but still within the community. The household has, as it were, reached its adult age. The Goddess of Fire has her seat right in the middle of the hottest part of the hearth and from here she performs her appointed service. It

is she who does the cooking and warming, besides 342
which she has numerous other duties to perform. She 776
is there unseen by any, and one should never forget this. Not only is she a very useful but a very awful being as well. Seeing and hearing all that goes on, she is the great witness who has noted well the words and actions of every one in the family, and will appear before God on the day of judgment for or against each individual, and her account will be infallible, and from it there can be no appeal. No wonder, therefore, that Penri was so punctilious in saluting the fire when he got up in the morning, and before and after his meals.

But it should be remarked that the Fire Goddess has a daughter whose name is *Shu-koyan-mat*, which means "Presider over the cooking pot," and she is supposed to assist her mother in the nice cooking of food.

Purification by fire, by passing children through it 783
or by making them jump over it, as was the custom
among some races in olden times, does not seem to 776
have been known among the Ainu. Nevertheless, the Goddess of Fire is still supposed to be a great purifier of the body from disease. And so it happens that she is not only much worshipped at the time of birth, but also when one is ill, and at the time of death and burial. And after death the judgment.

The judgment day is not, according to the Ainu, 775
supposed to be at some fixed and great public assembly of the peoples of the earth, but they think it will be an individual and private hearing of one's case directly after the death of the person. Penri said to me one day, "When a person dies, he goes at once to stand before God to be judged, to receive his sentence, and to be told his future sphere and work. Upon arrival, the usual salutations will be gone through and God will ask about the affairs of his village and people. Presently God will say to him or her, "You told such and such a lie about so and so, and you did such and such evil deeds in such and such a place and at such a time. You

Yakut RY2

A 114

ing hour together, comparing the Yakut and Ainu people. He told me that he could not discern any similarity between the two races, either in physique, general customs or language. However, he mentioned a thing or two about the Yakuts' superstitions regarding fire, which were of great interest to me.

A Y 372 171 776

While the Ainu people look upon fire as it exists upon the hearth as of the feminine gender, the Yakuts hold it to be masculine. The divine spirit, which is the essence of fire, is supposed by them to be a grey-haired and most fussy old man. He is never entirely at rest and is a very garrulous old fellow. The cracking, snapping, jumping and hissing of fire are his remarks and whisperings. What his whisperings and shuffling about mean, ordinary people do not understand, yet the shamans and infants who have not yet learnt to speak understand it quite well, just as they are said to understand what the birds say to one another in their singing and chirping.

Like the Ainu "Old Woman Fire," the Yakut "Old Man Fire" knows what people are saying and doing about him in the houses, so all must be careful not to hurt his feelings, for that would be very dangerous. Rubbish may not be cast into the fire, and one must take care that no leaves or dirt be scraped off one's footgear near it. Nor must the fire be poked with any iron instrument. Moreover, the wooden fire-tongs must be burned up every ten days or so, and new ones provided. Unless these taboos are strictly adhered to, headaches and general misfortune will ensue.

A Y 372 171 776 782

A good housewife always takes care that the "Old Man Fire" may be satisfied with her, and she casts into it a small portion of everything which is being prepared for eating. The Hokkaidō Ainu custom is not so. It is the men alone who worship fire among these, and make offerings to it. I have never yet seen an Ainu woman on this island worshipping the fire or making offerings to it. The Yakuts say that as no one

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6 ●
Yakut RV2

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Y ever knows what kind of temper the "Old Man Fire"
372 may be in, as he sits there burning upon the hearth, it
171 behoves everyone to conciliate him often by offering
● [776 him little gifts, for he is a very jealous one. He is
said to love fat, butter and cream better than anything
782] else.

As regards firelight, there are two interesting
Y taboos connected therewith. No young man may pass
784 beyond the strip of light which falls from the household
372 fire, to cross over to the women's side of the
hearth; nor may any woman, if she can possibly avoid
it, pass through the strip of light in front of the
hearth. Any transgression of these two taboos would
bring dire trouble, the Yakuts believe.

789 effort. They were very thankful and did not forget to point the rain out to me the next morning!

On questioning these and other people on the rain-making cult, I obtained the following information: "When the ancient people wished to make rain, they used to gather together in the chief's house and pray [776] to the Household God, his wife the Fire, and the Goddesses of the Rivers and Springs. The man who officiated was called the *apto-ashte guru*, i.e. the "person who causes it to rain." Abundant libations of whisky were drunk and offered to the gods.

"That done, the Master of Ceremonies appointed certain men to head small companies and commanded them to execute particular functions. One man was told to take his company to the river's brink and there to see that each one washed his tobacco-box and pipe in the running water. Another was ordered to catch a small fish called *eshokka*, i.e., the "bull-head," light a pipe and place the stem in its mouth. The fish would then close its mouth, the result being that the act of drawing in the air caused the smoke to escape from the gills. After this had been done the fish was allowed to escape. Another party was commanded to take a porringer, fill it with water, set a sail in it and place oars in order, as though it were a boat, and then set it on the path. Then some were told to push behind and others to drag it along about the village and gardens. Others would take sieves and scatter water about with them, while some would actually set sieves up on poles and challenge the gods to rain hard and fill them! Men, women and children all took part in this and they were filled with glee and mirth meanwhile. If this ceremony were properly carried out, it was bound to bring an abundance of rain. So said the Ancient Ones."

[829] I am afraid that some of the above lore shows the Ainu to have been very familiar with their gods, and at times not over respectful to them. Often have I heard them scolding them roundly, if they have been

the demon of disease, and that he was giving instruc- 539
tions to his servants."

The son of an Ainu fisherman once told me that the 825
albatross is looked upon as a servant of the chief god [776]
of the sea, and it is said that, if the fishermen are favoured with the presence of some of these birds when at their calling, they are sure to be successful. And so it came to pass that one of the names given them is *isho-kapiu*, i.e. "sport-bringing sea-gull." Like many other deities, the albatross also is supposed to go to other superior gods with prayers and intercessions for and from men, and he is splendid in fighting against the demons of disease on behalf of men and women.

One may well wonder why the shaman above spoken of carried the head of one of these birds[12] about with him. It was for the purpose of exorcism. Had he thought well to do so, he might have made a strong decoction out of scraped albatross skull and bill scrapings, and given her enough to produce vomiting. In this way would the demon of sickness have been cast out of both her and the man who was ill. Then, after having paid the proper fine to the shaman, all would have been peace and health again (a good deal, of course, depending on the fee given).

But according to the Ainu, it is not only certain 757
bad smells the demons are afraid of; they also dislike 753
anything of a nauseous flavour. They will flee before such, post-haste. At one time and another we have had hundreds of sick Ainu staying with us. These I always sent to the city doctors for diagnosis and medical treatment. One day one of the men told me that he wished to change his doctor, for his medicines were of no use. Said he: "I drank a whole bottle full, a three days' allowance at once this morning, and, instead of feeling better for it, I am much worse! I thought that if I took three days' allowance at one go, I should have three days' betterment in one day. But

separated the lower jaw from the upper one, placing 787
the latter carefully on one side. He then set the lower
part on the top of his head, teeth upward. This nicely
arranged, he gently leant forward so as to allow the
jaw to slip gradually to the floor. As it rested with the
teeth turned downward toward the floor, the daughter
was thereby proved guilty; but, should it have fallen
with the teeth upward, she would have been declared
innocent. She was called *akoniwokguru*, and this means
"the person pointed out." But in this instance the
oracle went wrong, for the yen was found a little later
where the father had most carefully hidden it away
himself! I verily believe the old man was angry at
having found it, for he did not like having his beloved
and thoroughly believed-in fox's skull proved to have
played him false. But, like every other one of the lower
divinities, the fox is supposed to have a double nature,
one part being good and the other evil. And so they
sometimes play pranks and practical jokes on people!
Especially is this said to be true of the divine fox.

It may be of interest to translate a remarkable 539
Ainu story of a wondrous fight between an Empty- 754
House-Demon and three shamans. The Empty- 776
House-Demons were employed by the people to take
care of their homes and property when they were
away at work, hunting or fishing. So strong was
their faith in these creatures, that it was not necessary
to lock their homes when away. The present
very fine and typical story shows how careful one
ought to be in selecting his own personal devil, being
sure to get hold of a good and faithful one. For
even among the devils there are supposed to be good
as well as bad ones. With regard to all of them it
may well be remarked that "he who would sup with
the devil must use a long spoon."

The translation now to follow is as literal as may 114
be. In some instances the sentences will be found to be
short. But they are always very much to the point

—so big and toothsome a creature—and asked to come 226
again at some future date. The fishermen were all 527
drunk and the other people feasting all day long, so that we had once more to postpone our lantern show.

When we got up in the morning, we made sure we 226
should have a fine time of it in the evening, when all had had their fill of nice fresh sword-fish, and so went round to ask the people to be prepared to come as early as possible to the meeting. But, alas, we were again doomed to disappointment. It happened in this way. There was one boat which could not get in with the others the night before, and the men were more than twelve hours late. The people had been very anxious about them, and we all went to the shore time after time to see if they were in view. I suppose it was the custom, for the Ainu, I found, saw the boat fully an hour before I could make it out. As soon as the boat arrived with its three men, the villagers were swept under a great cloud, for the late comers looked as scared [776]
as wild cats and declared that they had had a fight with the devil.

These men I found sitting by the hearth in a very 539
woebegone attitude. They said that they had been 226
out with the other boats but were farther off in the 776
ocean than they. They were after a big swordfish, when a great sea monster put in an appearance quite close to them. "He had big, staring, black eyes and was very ugly and most uncanny. He came up from below and forthwith proceeded to attack us. A most desperate battle ensued and he began to spread his arms over the boat. The monster was round in shape and had very long tentacles. He emitted a bluish dark fluid which discoloured the water all round the boat, and the air around became very malodorous."

I told the men that I thought it was a big octopus, but they said "No, indeed, it was Satan himself." "There was nothing else to be done in the face of such

226 a thing but clear off as early and fast as possible."
776 And, as for the odour, they were sure neither gods nor
[53e] men were ever able to endure it. I left my three young friends very busy fortifying themselves with alcohol. No wonder we could get no meeting that night.

A great council was to be held that afternoon to hear the story, offer prayer with libations and consider the matter. No doubt those libations were drunk deeply and often, and many things said to and about the demon that evening. It was decreed that on the morrow the great "wild Dance," to be spoken of in another "echo," should be carried out. The reader will not wonder, therefore, when I tell him that we at once packed up our traps and went off to another village. The demon of Shiraoi discomfited us as completely as the marine fiend did those three men.

226
476 There is just one more word I would like to write about Shiraoi, before passing on, and it concerns two very fine men, who acted in an extremely brotherly manner toward one another in order to get a living. I knew them both very well indeed, and one became a Christian in later years and was a very faithful one till his end came. Though they have long since died, I often think of them with great admiration. One of them was unable to walk and the other was quite blind. They lived in partnership. The blind man carried the lame one on his back, and his friend directed him in his turn where to walk. The lame man did some carrying and the blind one made fishing nets. The lame man cut up bait for fishing and the blind man put it on the hooks. They used to go out fishing together, when the blind man carried his partner to and from the boat. Both could row well. And thus they were able to make a good living.

226
776 While conversing with some Ainu fishermen, I was told of two sea-rulers, one good and the other evil. They are brothers and their names are "Wild-Uncle,"

the elder, and the other "Peace-Uncle," the younger. 226
The elder brother is supposed to be of a very evil dis- 776
position, and to be continually pursuing and persecuting his younger brother, who is benevolent and quiet and desires to live in peace and benefit the Ainu race. He comes and settles down in a place and brings quiet winds and good weather with him. Then it is that the fishermen launch their boats and go fishing. The elder brother is just the opposite. He desires to do all the harm he can, and so comes and chases his brother away. He causes the shipwrecks, so many of the fetishes seen upon the sea-shore are set there for him, by way of propitiation. Such is one Ainu version.

By some other Ainu the names "Wild" and "Peace Uncle" apply to the same being. In bodily shape he is like a very big whale. The legend concerning him is as follows:

"Once upon a time two men were out at sea fishing, 539
when they were suddenly overtaken by a severe storm. 226
As their boat was being swamped, they gave themselves to earnest prayer. Every known god and demon of the sea was called upon for help, but all to no purpose. By and by a very large whale, a whale as big as a mountain, was seen to rise out of the water and come gradually to the side of the boat and shelter it from the wind and waves. This was no other than he who is sometimes called 'Wild Uncle' and sometimes 'Peace Uncle.' He was known before that time indeed, but ever since this happened he has been honoured with the prayers of the Ainu, who also present him with fetishes."

When I was getting the information about the swordfish, the fight with the devil, and the wonderful deliverance vouchsafed by the whale, as mentioned above, the man gave me some information about divers and pikes. He told me that pikes came originally from

CHAPTER XXXVIII

A GOD AND A MAN CONTEST IN MAGIC

The ancient Ainu appear to have been gifted with 789
wonderful imaginations, which they used largely at times. The following piece of lore is a very good specimen thereof. We find that in this particular trial of magical power, neither the god nor the man treated his opponent with much respect, and that the god himself was exceedingly human and needed to be converted. The story is in the first person and it is the celestial being himself who actually tells it, even against himself. It is very interesting and, of course, contains its moral, which the listener is wisely left to draw for himself.

"I am a god—a god of the high heavens. A very 773
large number of deities have their homes here. When 776
the time came for me to marry, I looked about my 789
dwelling place for a bride, but I could not find even one among the daughters of heaven beautiful enough or of sufficient goodness for me to wed. They were all unfit to mate with me. Now I one day heard that in the lower regions where men dwell, there was a very beautiful young woman who, although she had the face of a mere human being, would do well for me. She was the younger sister of a man called Shamai. Her I made up my mind to wed.

"Having thus settled in my mind to take her to wife, I went down to the lower regions and marched up to the home of Shamai and his lovely sister. Outside the house there were many poles set up horizontally, over [251]

773 which pairs of salmon were hung for winter food.*
●776 But neither Shamai nor his sister was at home. They
789 had gone away among the mountains to hunt bears.
[251] So I entered the house and sat down to think. This is what I thought: 'Shamai is but a mere man ahd must, of course, be far inferior to me in magical power. I will turn myself into a salmon and try him.' So I went out to the poles where the fish were hanging to freeze. I took a pair of very fine ones off a pole and threw one of them away. Then I turned myself into a salmon just like the one I had cast off, only perhaps a little better, and joining myself to the remaining one by my tail, hung myself up with it and waited.

"After some little time had elapsed, Shamai and his beautiful sister returned, each bearing a great load of fat bear's flesh. This they brought and laid down outside the house. The young lady soon hastened in by the door, while her brother stayed at the east end window** and handed the meat in to her through it.

"Shamai and his beautiful younger sister were very tired indeed after their hunting, so they sat down quickly and made up the fire. Presently the brother said, 'We have eaten nothing but bear's meat of late, and I am getting tired of it. How would it be to bring in a salmon for supper?' The sister then came to where I was hanging on the pole and, after carefully looking about for the very best fish, selected me. She then took me down and carried me into the house. Seeing me, the brother said, 'This fish is a very fine one and is frozen very hard and will be chilly eating. Let us thaw it.' So the young lady tied a string to my

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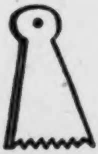
*Salmon were thus hung up by the people outside their homes to freeze for their winter food. Dogs also were fed on them.

**I have already stated elsewhere that the east-end window and the region by it is held sacred. It is as sacred to the Ainu as the chancel end of churches to many Christians. It is the place of light, and all game and precious things are sent into the huts by way of this window.

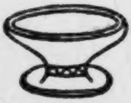
tail and hung me upside-down, suspended from the pot- 773
hook over the fire. And I found it very warm there. 776 ●

"After a little, Shamal said, 'Come, I'm very hun- 789
gry, and the salmon is thick and frozen clean through. Put on more wood and cook it quickly.' So the sister went out and brought in a big armful of wood, which she threw on the hearth, and made a great roaring fire under me. My poor head began to get very hot and then burn. So fierce was the fire that I went crack, snap, phiz all up my back. My fat spluttered and flew out. My soul withdrew right up into my tail and it seemed as if I must soon be quite burnt up. In haste, then, I slipped out through the end of my tail, broke the eastern end of the house roof, and with a mighty shout, making the world echo and echo and echo again with my roar, returned to my own celestial dwelling-place.*

[415]



A HEARTH-RAKE



AN EATING-BOWL

"I was very angry at this and said within my heart, 'That thing of a Shamai is a creature of the miserable earth; he was born a despicable Ainu. As for me, I'm a mighty god. I really thought that that beast of a Shamai, having been born a contemptible man of the earth, would be far inferior to me in the powers of magic. But he has beaten me this time; and I won't stand it.' I was exceedingly angry and determined to go for him again.

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*The mere man got the better of the celestial being, who was sent off badly discomfited. Thus the man won the first magical contest.

773' "So when the time came, I once more descended
776 from my heavenly home and went to Shamai's house.
789 But he and his sister were again out in the mountains, hunting bears together. Well, I arrived at their empty house. I entered and took Shamai's very own personal eating bowl down from the shelf and examined it. Presently I hid it carefully away and transformed myself into another exactly like it and set myself in its place upon the shelf. And so I sat and waited. Presently I heard their footsteps returning in the distance. On they came as before, the sister hastening in through the door and the brother going round to the east end window to hand in the meat. There were two very large bundles of it. They were both tired after their hunting and the walk home with such big loads, so they sat down and made a nice big fire. Presently Shamai said to his sister, 'Did you wash my eating bowl before we went out this morning?' 'No,' she answered. 'Well then,' he said, 'make some water scalding hot and give it a thorough washing.' So she rose and hung a big pot full of water over the fire. As soon as it was properly boiling, she took her brother's bowl down from the shelf. Then I thought, 'Well, if she puts me into that boiling water, I shall certainly be killed.' But she did so. She tossed me right in. I sunk a little way down and then slipped out as quick as lightning and rose up from the water. Through the west end of the roof of the hut I escaped with a mighty crack and went up to my celestial home with a tremendous bellowing sound. Aye, it was a narrow escape!

"I came to my house and entered in. I sat down in wrath and thought thus, 'I imagined that Shamai, being but a poor worm of a man, was greatly inferior to me in magic, as I am a god of heaven. But I have again found him my better.' Oh, how angry I was! Now I made up my mind to have no more jesting, but go for him in earnest. I would pay him a visit openly

and appear in my celestial body. So I dressed in my 773
heavenly raiment and went down. I came to Shamai's 776
house and stood before the door, but, being still full 789
of wrath, I could not bring myself to enter as a guest. So there I stood and waited.

"Soon after, Shamai's beautiful sister came out to me and said, 'If you do not like to enter our home and stay as an honoured guest, being angry, I will not ask you to come in. But look over yonder. See! Look at that beautiful house of mine; it is made of silver. Do you see it? Go in there and sit down. You may stay there.' So I entered the pretty little silver house, it being now nearly dark, and sat down. And there I stayed. Anger was still rankling in my breast. To myself I said, 'I am a great god, but that mean Shamai is but a man, low-born and in every way earthly and contemptible. Yet he has beaten me in magic.' Thus I sat there in anger thinking as to how I might meet him.*

"I seemed to wake up as from a dream, and when I came quite to myself, I found that I was sitting in a filthy malodorous cesspool just outside the house. It was covered in and I really had thought that it was the lady's beautiful bower, but that lady had sent me right into that muck and my beautiful garments were in a filthy condition and the smell was shocking. Although I am a mighty god, yet that mere man, Shamai, and his cunning sister were my superiors in the art of magic. I then became convinced that I could never hope to overcome them. And I was filled with wrath.

"As soon as I got my senses quite back, I went up through the roof of the little house with a mighty crack and roar; and with the very heavens ringing with my cry, I came to my celestial home. I at once washed

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*As the sequel will show, the beautiful young woman spurns him and, in fact, hypnotises him. He is no match for either the brother or sister.

775 myself and my garments and then entered my house.
776 Here I sat and brooded and was extremely angry. My
784 divine brothers soon came home, and when they had entered and rested a little, one of them said, "When we came through the yard outside we encountered a very bad smell. It was most horrible. Whatever could it have been? It was not at all a heavenly odour. Where did it come from and what was it?" But being very much ashamed of myself, I kept quite silent. A few days after, as I was sitting alone by the hearth, my elder brother came in and scolded me roundly for what I had done. Said he, 'You are a great fool. Why did you go to vie with Shamai and his sister in magic? Have you never heard that from times of old these have been far more powerful than any of the gods? Human though they be, yet they have the essence of the gods. You are a prince of fools.'" The translator feels that to comment on this very wonderful and dramatic story would be to spoil it.

753 and friends to meet the doctor at his house, as he had something very important to say to them. When all had come together, he asked that, as soon as he was dead, the doctor would make a postmortem examination, extract all the diseased parts from his body, show them to those present, explain the malady, and then, having chopped them up very fine, scatter the pieces to the four winds. "For," said he, "it will never do for me to go to Heaven and meet the gods and my ancestors with a diseased body. That would be disgraceful." What a contrast with the above mentioned Irish woman!

752 776 824 I am fully convinced that there was a good deal more in my friend's request than appears on the surface; for, by having his diseased parts chopped up fine and scattered to the four winds, he was in fact, seeking to be avenged on the demons of disease and accidents. This will appear evident in what is now to follow.

WOŎI; WOŎI; WOŎI; came a weird cry through the trees of the forest one afternoon, as I was walking along a path not far from a certain village. I thought it must be some people in great distress, so I made my way quickly through the brush-wood toward the sound. Presently I came upon a peculiarly strange sight. There were a score or so of Ainu men and women standing round a big tree, howling, crying, and roaring out WOŎI, WOŎI, WOŎI. The men looked very angry and fierce, and the women all had their hair dishevelled and fallen over their shoulders and faces. The men, I saw, had old swords and long knives in their hands. I stood and looked at them in great astonishment, for I had never seen the people worked up so much before.

By and by they marched round and struck hither and thither with their knives and swords, the women weeping and wailing out a death dirge. Every now

and then would come the owl-like cry *woŏi, woŏi, woŏi.* 752
And they would curse loudly. I came near them and 776●
found they were storming at the evil genii of the tree. 824
There had been an accident. One of those present told
me that a man had fallen out of the tree and been
killed. The people had therefore assembled to perform a
ceremony they called *Niokeush rorumbe,* i.e., "making

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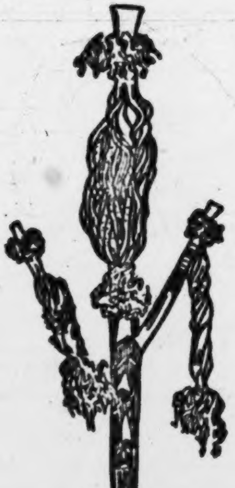

A FETISH OFFERING

war upon the demon tree." After watching for some time, I returned to my lodgings and later in the evening asked for more particular information with regard to this matter. The following lore was then given me.

"Should a person climb a tree and then fall out of it and be killed, or should a person cut down a tree and

752 be killed by its fall, such a death is called 'getting harm
●776 from the tree.' Such accidents are caused by the mul-
824 titude of demons inhabiting the various parts of the trunk, branches and leaves. When one has been killed thereby, the people ought to meet together, cut the tree down, chop it up into very fine pieces and scatter all to the four winds. For unless that tree be destroyed, it will always remain dangerous, and demons will continue to dwell in it. But if the tree be too large to cut up fine, let it be hacked and left there, the place being clearly marked, so that the people may not go near it."

And so, according to this and other like traditions, one is led to conclude that Mr. Arrow's desire for a postmortem operation did not arise simply because he wished to appear in heaven with a pure and healthy body, but also in part because he wanted vengeance taken on the demons of disease who killed him. In fact, he was undoubtedly seeking for purification and revenge in a thoroughly orthodox Ainu manner, and that by a post-mortem ceremony.

On a later day, I saw a ceremony performed which was called *niwen horippa,* i.e. "wild dance." It was after the death of a man from drowning. It was performed thus:

752 *Saké* was provided in abundance by the relatives of
776 the victim, and messengers were sent to the villages
823 near, inviting the men and women to join in the proceeding. All came, bringing their contribution of either *saké* or millet dumplings. The men all had, as is customary on such occasions, either a sword or long knife, and the women had their headgear hanging over their arms and their hair left hanging down in disorder. The men made a lot of willow fetishes and set them up about the place, said many prayers and offered libations. Then, after all had eaten well of dumplings and swallowed large amount of *saké,* they marched

off in single file, shouting and chanting their death dirges. 75 776 823

The men held their swords and knives point upward in their right hands, close to the shoulder, and then in unison they took a step with their right feet and called out, "Woöi!" stretching the sword forward to the fullest extent possible. Then they moved their left feet forward in the same manner, at the same time drawing their swords back again and repeating the word, woöi. The cry resembled that of an owl during the night. This was carried on for some time. There was a great howling and at last the men seemed to get out of hand and danced about, striking in every direction and execrating the demon-mermaids and water nymphs in the river. They were much excited and looked quite wild. I smiled at them, and Old Penri actually winked at me, a compliment I returned. This kind of thing is very catching and being young then, I could hardly refrain from going in "for the fun of the thing." However, I let it pass and all was well. When all had been finished and the *saké* drunk up, with many a smack of the lips, they returned to a big bacchanalian feast. They slept that night where they fell over drunk. And so their battle with the demons of accidents from water came to an end.

It is these old ideas and superstitious practices which harm the people so much. They are like the wheels of some great Juggernaut passing over them and ruthlessly crushing them down and making it impossible for them to rise again.

The observance of this special ceremony of the "wild dance" is particularly important because the drowning may, so the Ainu imagine, have been done through the agency of an ordinary demon in an ordinary way, or by one who has been specially called upon to do it on account of the spite of another person, who had cursed the victim and prayed him to

752 drown him. With regard to this matter my friend
● 776 said, "I will tell you about the 'red stone.'"

"Should one see a very large red stone in a river,
823 let him know that there is a merman inhabiting it. For our ancestors have taught us that such large stones are undoubtedly the homes of these creatures. And so it comes to pass that bad-hearted men say prayers to these stones and ask the merman inhabiting them to kill the enemy. Then, should the person so cursed wade the river, the merman is sure to come out from his home and slay him."

The whole merman tribe, he told me, are supposed to be very wicked and dangerous, so that their homes must be treated with proper respect. Hence the worship of big stones. The merman, when asked, will not only attack a cursed person when crossing a river in the immediate vicinity of the stone—its home—but when crossing any part of the river, so evidently the creature is regarded as ubiquitous as well as evil. Though unseen, it sees the man wherever he may be. My informant also told me that he thought mermen were part human and part fish. The ceremony of the "wild dance" is in part one of fear and also in part a ceremony of propitiation, for fetishes are offered to the stone with libations of saké.

CHAPTER XLI

A LITTLE BOY DELIVERS HIS TWO BROTHERS FROM A MONSTROUS DEMON

"I am only a little growing-up lad and live with my two big brothers. Every season they go hunting and kill many animals. From infancy they fed me with bear's flesh and venison. One year they went off as usual on a hunting expedition, and I was left alone in the house. As I sat there by the hearth, a sudden thought forcibly struck me. "I wonder what my brothers can have hidden away so carefully in that pile in yonder corner! I must look and see." Being thus desirous of knowing, I uncovered the pile and found there an ancient box. Quickly I untied the cord and opened the lid. Oh, how surprised I was! The box was heaped full up with treasures. There were gold and silver and many other precious things. Thus, seeing with my own eyes, I knew what they had hidden in that pile in the corner. 539 776

"I was not satisfied with seeing merely what was on the top, but wanted to know what was hidden at the bottom also. Right underneath every thing else, at the very bottom, I found two long knives, one of gold and the other of silver; two in all, lying side by side. I took these to myself, but broke up all the other precious things into fragments. The two knives I struck into my girdle, walked out of the house, and struck the path leading into the forest. By and by I came to a great mountain, at the foot of which I stood and looked round. Presently my eyes lighted on a tiny old lodge with a conical roof, in a river valley.

539 "Taking this roof as a guide, I went on towards it. When at last I came to the place, I went and stood ●776 quietly in the courtyard. There I stood and listened, hardly daring to breathe. I heard the sound of my two big brothers snoring loudly as they lay sleeping inside. I sadly wanted to go in to them, but remembering how I had shortly before destroyed their precious treasures and was wearing their two knives, I felt afraid to enter. So I stood there all day long, in shame. It became dark soon, for the sun had set. Yet I could not move, for my behaviour had been too bad. I still had a burning desire to go in to my brothers. But the shame of the thing! What would they think of me? I had no face left! Filled with sorrow and regret, there I stood outside. By and by I heard a strange sound in the forest. What could it be? I stood and listened. The sound came from the river valley and seemed as if some people were coming towards this very hut. Whoever could it be! Breathlessly and intently did I peer into the darkness and at last I made out a he-wolf and a she-wolf coming along. They came close up to the lodge. The he-wolf went and stood upright at the right-hand corner of the doorway and the she-wolf at the left-hand corner. They seemed to be awaiting someone and stood up with their chins resting on their fore paws. I sadly wanted to go in to my brothers, but as that was impossible now, I could do nothing but remain outside, watching and listening.

"As I stood there open-eyed, listening intently, I heard the sound of someone else coming down from the mountain range. On the hard ground the footsteps went *thud, thud,* and when they went over the softer places their tread sounded *susk, susk.* Thus, in truth, came the sound of their approach. I became paralyzed with fear. So there I stood and looked. As I gazed, I saw a mighty, monstrous bear come close up beside the hut. On he came, right up to the place at which I was standing. Putting his fore paw up to his chin, he stood still and listened. Soon after, as I stood there in terror, I heard a sound as of someone else coming along out of the forest. Nearer and nearer he came. Whatever could it be? As I listened in great apprehension, I made out something in the distance. It seemed to be an enormous demon, whose upper jaw touched the very heavens above, while his lower one scraped the earth below. When he stepped on the dry twigs, they went *creak*, *creak*, and when he walked over the green ones, they sprang back after him, *swish*, *swish*. I saw and heard all this and was transfixed by fear.

"I very earnestly desired to enter the hut and wake up my brothers, but being filled with shame and fear, I could do nothing but stand outside as I was. It was dreadful. The noise made by the approaching demon grew louder and louder the nearer he came. By and by a very quiet voice came to me from the great bear standing beside me. He said, 'Oh thou young lad of Eastern Turu, this is surely no common demon who is now upon us. He is an extraordinary one. Extraordinary, too, is the sleeping of thy brothers. Their sleep is no common slumber, but was willed upon them by the fearful demon. That is why they sleep so soundly. These two wolves, O lad, are the guardian angels of those two gentlemen of Eastern Turu, and they are here to save their lives. But I am very doubtful as to whether they will be able to do much good. I am the god of the mountain ridges and I ardently long for fetishes which shall be made by thy two brothers. It is on this account that I have now come to help them. Yet, somehow, I feel as though I shall not be able to save them. I am filled with apprehension. I think it would be well for you to return

539 at once and very quickly to your home.' So whispered
776 the big bear in my ear.

"This speech, if possible, filled me with more fear than ever. But yet, as I had smashed up the precious things belonging to my brothers while they were away, I felt that I could not leave them now in their hour of so great danger. And I was rooted to the spot. Very soon the awful creature reached the other side of the hut. Whatever sort of thing could it be? Was it a good god or a dreadful demon? I could not tell, for he was behind the hut. Although his forequarters were close up to the structure, his hind quarters were still rustling in the forest behind! His upper jaw reached up to the skies and his lower one touched the ground. Gradually the entire creature reached the hut.

"Round the corner came his head. Then the mighty bear—that god of the mountain heights—pawed the air, and soon the two rushed upon one another with a tremendous roar. They fought with might and main all that night. Towards morning I heard great thuds, as if someone had thrown big heavy stones to the ground. On looking towards the place, I saw the mighty bear lying on the ground, cut in two halves. I shook with terror. Strange to remark, the demon took no notice of me, but made to go in by the door of the hut. Then I quickly seized my golden knife and with a mighty blow severed the creature's head from his body. And yet that detached head continued to attack me. As quick as thought, I drew my silver knife and smote the upper part of the body, which also continued to attack me. And so we fought. When the head came for me, I hit out with the golden knife, but when the body rushed upon me, I smote with the silver one. Thus we fought till the demon was cut up into very fine pieces. I then gathered up all the fragments and cast them to the four winds—to the

grass, to the trees and to the birds. That monstrous 539
demon was completely destroyed. 776

"Having made an end of him, I listened, thinking that my two big brothers must have been awakened by the din we had made. But no! I heard them sleeping and snoring as beautifully as ever. Their heavy breathing was like the hum of a house swarming with flies! There they were, those two, merrily sleeping and snoring, and quite unconscious of everything. Being assured of this, I rushed out of the courtyard and ran swiftly back home. Here I sat at the hearth-side as unconcernedly as if I had never gone out anywhere.

"As I thus sat alone, I heard the footsteps of my two brothers as they walked towards our hut. They were in earnest conversation. When they came nearer, I heard one of them say to the other,

"'Who could have saved us when our guardian wolves and the bear god were all killed? How is it we are now alive?' The other replied, 'About midway on our return journey, I saw a little way off in the forest foot-prints of the little boy we have nourished.' But the other was very doubtful and said, 'Such mighty gods were they! And yet they were all slain. How could one such as he have saved us?' So they talked and could not believe that I had taken any hand in the matter. I heard all this as they came along, but I made no move and sat there as unconcernedly as before.

"Soon they came in by the door and sat down. They 539
talked of nothing but their wonderful escape. Said they, 'Who could our saviour possibly have been? To whom do we owe it that we are now in the land of the living?' So they sat and talked together. But as for myself, I remained silent and kept the bearing of one who had been nowhere—of one who understood not their talk. But in my soul I thought thus, 'They

CHAPTER XLII

ANIMISM AND NECROLATRY

In their religion the Ainu are very strong believers 771
in animism. This is a cult which is much more easily 774
illustrated than defined. By a belief in it the people 776
explain in a sufficiently rational way, for themselves, the fact of the universe and all it contains. It embraces necrolatry, or the worship of the souls of ordinary dead men and even those of demons and the lower animals. It also takes in spiritism or the worship of spiritual beings who are not associated in a permanent way with any particular visible, material forms. And it also includes nature-worship or the supposed spiritual beings who are assumed to be directly connected with the present or recurring phenomena of nature.

The Ainu certainly believe that whatever has life moves, and that whatever moves has life. Hence the religion of the people is a very present and deep one. It is coextensive with the universe and pervades and affects everyone and everything. All are bound by it, and there is no possible way of escaping it. The welling up of the bubbling water spring, the rippling rivulet, the gliding stream, the rushing torrent, the tearing rapids, the whistling winds, the flying clouds, the pouring rain and falling snows, the mist and fog, fine weather and foul, the quiet lake and the restless oceans, thunder and lightning, the falling tree and the rolling of a stone down a mountain side; all such phenomena have, so they think, each a real life or soul, either good or bad, or both good and bad, abiding in it.

The necrolatry side of animism is not so apparent 769
among the Ainu as one might perhaps at first sight

"When the men go into the mountains to hunt 824
bears, and are attacked by them, and are in so great 224
danger that they must run, and so seek a way of
escape, they are certain to be killed by these animals
if they have not been instructed in the cult of the
mountains and taught how to worship the demons
who inhabit the trees; but if they have been properly
indoctrinated with this cult, and are careful to apply
what they have learnt at the right moment, there is
no danger at all. They always escape, for both gods
and demons help them."

One often hears of demon worship in Ainu lore. 776
But it must not be supposed that all demons are devils. 771
The fact is this. The Ainu demons are both
good and bad, and the word used bears the same
significance as the old classical Greek 'daimon.' In
some instances it is an oversoul or guardian angel,
and at others an evil, malignant fiend. The context and
subject must always be allowed to interpret the sense
in which it should be understood. But this by the
way. Another friend said,

"The cult of the mountains consists in tree worship, 782
and the worship of the place in which any tree
soever may be growing. And so, when a man is chased
by a bear, he should rush to a tree, and if he has not
time to climb it, he should embrace it with both arms,
hugging it very closely, stand perfectly still and
whisper to the tree genius thus; 'O thou standing tree,
save me. Hide my body.' If this be done, the bear
will only come as far as the tree and then go away
without seeing the man. Or should the bear come upon
him when in the act of climbing a tree, and start up
after him, he should say to the tree trunk, 'O precious
demon of the tree bark, hasten to save me.' Or should
he reach the fork of a tree, he should say, 'O thou demon
of tree forks, be brave, and fight for me.' Or if
he reach the top of the tree he should say, 'O demon of

away to strip off bark from the elm trees for making into cloth, and were in danger from something. I very anxiously awaited their return day by day, but they did not come back. So, being unable to endure the suspense, I one day got on their track and followed them into the forest.

"I went on till I came to a lake among the mountains. At one end of this tarn, close by the edge, I saw six corpses of young men lying stretched out, and likewise the bodies of the remaining six at the other end. It was a sad sight! I could no longer contain myself. So, being quite unable to do anything else, I lay down in sore distress by the lake and wept, wept. I wept again and yet again. As the day drew to an end, I arose and looked round. In the centre of the lake the waving tail of a large trout-like fish, very large and fearful to behold, was to be seen flapping, while at the other end the creature's mouth was silently opening and shutting in great contentment.*

"On looking behind me, I descried a well-beaten track leading into the forest. With a limp body and drooping spirit I went along it. Soon I arrived at a large house. Going up to the door, I struck it with my hands, when it at once opened with a big creak. I immediately entered and when inside sat down in the lowest place, near the door. Here I silently waited. On the right hand side of the hearth I saw a big gentleman sitting, who immediately rose up. He then went to a shelf and took down a nice black tray, placed some bear's flesh on it, and, bowing very low in deep respect, offered it to me. I received it in my hands and gently raised it up to my forehead. I then took two tiny pieces of the meat, but, being very shy, I

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*Be it remembered that in Ainu lore goblins sometimes take the form of fish when they desire to appear.

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The following is a legend of a six-tailed demon of disease, and is of great interest.

"There were three persons who were brothers by the same mother, the younger one and his two elders. The younger one was a very sickly man and stayed in the house all alone. The two elder men lived away in their own homes. One day news came from another village, saying that every night the dogs set up a great howling. This information was brought by the birds. One day, as we were sitting together, a gentleman came and told us that an epidemic disease was raging from one end of his village to the other and he had come to consult with us on the matter. He had come especially to us because he had heard we were under the powerful protection of the gods and would know what was the best thing to be done. So he and my two elder brothers took counsel together. After that, the two older men girded themselves with long swords and went off with the gentleman. I, the younger and sickly one, stuck a small dirk in my girdle. Alas, being such a useless one, my brothers considered that I ought to stay at home.

"After they had gone off, I slept and had a great dream. In this dream I saw a mean-looking man come down from the hills and present me with a very poor-looking short sword. I then awoke, when, behold, I found such a sword lying by my side. I took it up at once, and, as it was but a small dirk, I placed it in my bosom. I then got up from my bed and followed along the track of the other men, till I came to the upper end of the village they had spoken of. Just then the younger of my elder brothers came running along, pursued by a fearful demon having six tails. I made way for my brother to pass, at the same time grasping the dirk I had in my bosom. I struck the demon with that very mean instrument and cut him clean in two, right through the middle! My brother saluted me and

thanked me for what I had done. And so we returned to our homes. 539
776

"I then went off again, alone, towards the lower end of the village, when, lo, my eldest brother also came running along. O, how he ran! Like his brother before him, he also was followed by a big, fierce, six-tailed demon. I, the very poor, sickly younger brother, stepped on one side, at the same time seizing the dirk I had in my bosom. The demon came rushing along like the wind. His mouth was wide open, so that his lower jaw was touching the ground and his upper one reaching the skies. As he came up, I struck the monster and cut him right through the middle. He fell apart and there he lay. My brother then saluted and thanked me, and we returned home together. My brothers were surprised beyond measure at me, the younger good-for-nothing brother, who turned out to be so brave as to slay those six-tailed demons of disease, which they themselves were unable to face.

"After this, the gentleman of the stricken village gave a beautiful daughter to me in marriage, and also bestowed two other young women on my brothers. And so all passed off well. Having stayed with our friends for some time, we at last returned to our homes with our wives. The people all round looked upon me, the poor sickly one, with great admiration. My two elder brothers remained as poor as ever, but I became exceedingly rich. I became the father of two children, a son and daughter, to whom I taught the ancient doctrines. My elder brothers also had a pair of youngsters each, to whom they, too, taught the faith." This wonderful story quaintly ends thus, "We all died of old age, but the children we left behind us are all well and very prosperous."

[p. 366 is blank]

In passing along, of course we came to many small 823
tributaries, and I noticed that due respect was also 782
paid to them. This consisted in a simple salutation, with a prayer silently offered. These tributaries were called "Little divine hands" (*Kamui po-teke*). The tutelary genii were named "Divine Daughters" (*Kamui matne-po*). They are supposed to be the children of the goddess of the headwaters. "And," said my informant, "one must never forget that demons dwell there as well as gods.

During our hushed discourse I was told that there 823
are other genii who are called "Females of the water- 776
courses" (*Pet-ru-ush-mat*). These are innumerable and are supposed to watch over whole rivers, from their sources right down to the sea. There is no getting away from them and they have power to communicate with one another. The gods and demons, good and bad, are very much mixed up together, and are ubiquitous.

On passing over an eddy, I was told to be very quiet indeed. And I must be very reverent and not even smile. "But why?" I asked. The reply came, "A ghoul lives here who is called *Horokariyep*. She is a very short-tempered one and may attack us out of jealousy or spite." The name means "The Sprite who turns back." I hearkened to my teacher, sat quite still, and did not speak. Moreover, I pulled as long a face as possible, which actually made my old boatman laugh. Nevertheless, we got safely over. So also did we negotiate rapids, in spite of the evil spooks inhabiting them.

I found the boatmen appeared to be particularly afraid of a river demon named "Creature of Muddy Places" (*Nupki-ot-guru*). He is a married one, and his wife, who works with him, is called "Female of Muddy Places" (*Nupki-ot-mat*). They are said to dwell near the water's edges and it is they who make the water thick at times. They delight to tear down the banks

823 of rivers, as they are both of a mischievous nature.
776 They are not, however, entirely vicious, for if fetishes
are offered to them they are pleased and will do no
harm. But if they are insulted or neglected, they will
[778] come along some night and knock down just that rich
part of a soft bank where the women have sown their
millet and other garden stuff.

By and by we came to places where the current was strong and there were some fairly big rapids to pass through with our tiny boat. I was asked to get out and walk down, but I told my two men that I would not do so unless they did also, for I had thorough confidence in their skill. "In that case," they said, "then you will please sit very still indeed and hold fast on to the side of the boat." I agreed to this and so we went on. We got through to the other end quite safely and very little wet. The genii supposed to inhabit such places are male and female. They are called, "Senders down of the currents" (*Chiu-range-guru*), and "Valiant and Divine Male Current" (*Chiuka-pinne-Kamui-Rametok*). These, I was told, must be worshipped and propitiated with fetishes.

The mermen and mermaids, with others, have been mentioned elsewhere as occasion has suggested, so are not spoken of again in this place. The general name for such is "Demons which pass through the water" (*Pe-poso-koshimpuk*).

GENII AND GHOULS OF THE SEA

103 Not far from Muroran on the south eastern coast of Hokkaidō, there is a fishing village which the Japanese call *Washibetsu*. As written with Chinese ideographs, as the names of places on this island have been done for hundreds of years past by the Japanese, this means "Eagle Different" and seems to be quite an absurd appellation. But it should be remembered that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

103

such names, in both Japan Proper and Hokkaidō, were taken from the old Ainu designations and written by Imperial command with Chinese characters, phonetically, irrespective of meaning. The first command is said to have been given in 713 A.D. by the Empress Genmyō, and was repeated ten centuries later. The chief stipulations were that the ideographs chosen should be first euphonious and then have a lucky meaning. Washibetsu was one of these Ainu names so treated. In Ainu it is *Wash-pet* and means in their language, "Surf-river."

When passing through this small village some years ago, I stopped and had a chat about the place with an old Ainu friend who was with me. I asked him why it, particularly, was called by a name meaning "Surf River," and he told me that it was so named because of the surf which sometimes, in rough weather, rushed into its river-mouth from the sea. As this river is a slightly tidal one, the name is very appropriate.

823
776

We went down to the river's mouth and I saw that the opening was shallow and full of rocks. A little way out, too, there were rough rocks over which the sea danced. That, he told me, was the place where the fresh waters from the land met the salt waters from the sea, and was dangerous, for some water sprites lived there. Continuing our conversation, my friend told me that there was a particular genius who presided over the mouths of rivers. In this instance she is a female whose name means "She who governs the place where the fresh and salt waters mingle" (*Chiwashekot-mat*). It is her duty, he told me, to watch over the river waters just where they intermingle with the sea. It is also one of her duties to guide fish in and out of the river, when they go to spawn. So she is pretty busy. She must always be held in reverence, worshipped, and have fetishes presented to her fre-

1

823 quently. Unless this is done, the people will suffer,
776 some by getting no fish to eat and others by drowning.

I have written about some of the supposed good and bad creatures (gods and demons) of the sea elsewhere, but there are a few other mattters of interest concerning them which have come under my observation and which I think deserve a word or two now. Besides the "Wild Uncle," who has been already spoken of, and the demon described in the chapter on "A fight with the Devil," there is another chief demon of the sea who is called "He who descends upon the calm ocean." His name in the native tongue is *Ko-notoran-guru*. When he reveals himself, as he is sometimes supposed to do, he is said to appear in the shape of a
[825] very big fish. He has his real home somewhere in mid-ocean. He is of a very evil disposition, frequently stirring up wind and storm and causing wrecks and interfering with the Ainu when out fishing, by driving the fish away and by drowning some of the fishermen. In times of distress he is worshipped, but not on any other occasions. It is very curious to remark that though worshipped, whisky and fetishes are not openly offered him. The reason given is that to offer them openly would incite much envy, jealousy, and anger among the other gods and demons, who desire such
[226 things for themselves alone. Nevertheless, some fisher-
782] men do now and then secretly make fetishes for him and drink *saké* in his honour. But they keep this very secret.

Any abnormal fish, whether it be out of the com-
823 mon in form or colour, is supposed to be a misfortune-
776 giving demon, and when caught is sent back as an
825 offering to the demon of rough weather, whose pro-
226 perty he is supposed to be. We once had a young man
782 staying with us who told me of the following incident,
which exactly illustrates this. He said that he and his father, while once out fishing off the coast, caught a

sea turtle. When they got it on board, they were surprised to find one of its feet whiter than the others. It was an uncanny thing. It was a freak. When they saw this they began to fear. After a time the father declared it to be what he called an *ikonnup*, i.e. "A misfortune-bringing creature." It was a marine ghoul. Therefore, after a prayer, he cut off the foot with his big knife, and dropped both it and the turtle back into the sea. In doing so, he called out to the ghoul in a loud voice, "O thou demon who dost stir up storms, we now return this thy creature to thee. Take good care of him." In this act the old fellow was sending back to the storm and ill-fortune-bringing demon one of his own offspring as a present. It seemed to me a strangely sarcastic thing to do. But to them it was the right and proper procedure, and no insult was intended. 823 776 825 226 782

When one party of fishermen desire to bring down evil upon another enemy party, who may have given offence by poaching on what they regarded as their own preserves, they go directly to this same demon of storms, in prayer, and ask him to punish them. They tell me that he does really hear their requests and either soon sends a storm upon the others, so that some of them drown, or renders them unable to catch the fish, or afflicts them with demonomania. When he sends madness upon them, they are said to waste away gradually in sickness and finally die. This is a threat the rival fishermen hold over one another, and, believing it, they become more careful. 754 226

This mighty storm-demon is said to be the ancestor and chief of all the wicked minor sea-sprites. He is their owner and director. All are responsible to him. Such minor demons are, for example, "Those who make the sand fly on the seashore" (*Ota-patchi-guru*), and their wives, for they are said to be a married folk. Then the "Sprite of the big rollers," the "genii of the white horses," with hosts of others. 823 776

782 778 saying, 'O ye gods, our sons have gone away, and are now wandering hither and thither in pursuit of animals and fish. We think much of them. Oh, do ye watch over them and prosper them. Help them in what they are doing, and bring them safely home.' So do the old men."

778 I woke up one morning to find the skeleton of a flitter-mouse or bat resting on one tray close to my head, and the skull of a racoon on another very near by. Phew! What a smell! They smelt quite fusty and musty and in every way disagreeable. When I got up, I asked the master of the hut what these things meant and he then gave me the following lore.

The Ainu name for the bat is *Kapap Kamui*, and this means, I believe, 'The divine hook-winged.' When killed, his head and skin are kept wrapped up in fetish shavings and used as a charm. He is classed among the birds, and is supposed to be a special defence against disease and demons in general, like the albatross. It is also said that when used as a fetish and properly and reverently treated, he will make one wise, which word sometimes, nay, very often, I am afraid, stands for 'crafty.' The following legend tells how he once slew a demon of disease by exercising his so-called wisdom in feigning death, and thereby accounts for the fact of his being kept as a fetish; for, being very wise, he is supposed to be able to bestow that quality on those who keep his skeleton by them.

539 825 776 "The divine bat did not come down from Paradise, but was made by God in this world. He is a very precious bird and exceedingly wise. It is said that a person named Poiyaumbe had a town upon the mountains of Battle River. Now it happened that Poiyaumbe was continually and in many ways being persecuted and hard put to it by demons, and this led him to declare war upon them. As he was such a mighty deity, the demons could not withstand him, for he conquered

them wherever he met them. By and by, as a certain war was just beginning to be brought to a successful issue, the demon of contagious diseases came with a large number of boats to the harbour of Battle River. All his army landed and drew their boats on shore, and there set up their lodges. The divine Poiyaumbe was very much annoyed with this invasion and said, 539 825 776

"'I am a deity sent down from heaven to defend Ainu-land. Ever since I have been in this country, the demons have never ceased to persecute me, and I have surely seen much trouble. Still, I have never yet been overcome. But now the devil called "Demon of disease" has come with a multitude of fiends, and pitched his lodge of green branches along the shores of our harbour. Ainu-land has till this day been lying in profound peace, and ought not to be disturbed. But even granted that we should fight here, there would not be sufficient space to carry on such a mighty conflict. I will therefore descend to Hades and do battle there. For, understand this, the demon of contagious disease is a very dreadful being. So fearful is he that if one but catches the scent of him he must very soon die. When this war has been brought to an end, I will reascend to Paradise.'

"Poiyaumbe next sought for a mighty deity to take care of his castle during his absence. At last, after much searching, he came upon a bat, to whom he said, 'You alone are strong enough to take care of my castle; come and guard it for me.' Poiyaumbe then fastened on his armour, girded himself with a belt, buckled on his sword, took his bow in his hands, his arrows in his quiver, and went off. Then the bat entered in and took charge of the castle. In this way is it known that the bat is a very brave and wise deity.

"This castle, which was at the head of Battle River, originally came down from heaven, and it was

539 this castle that the bat came to take care of. These are
825 the reasons that many people offer libations to bats.
After a time, a demon came to the castle who, upon
● 776 seeing the bat, said, "O divine Bat, no doubt thou art
placed here to defend the home of the gods; come, let
us measure our strength."

"The bat took up the challenge and said he would fight. The demon thereupon took a poisoned arrow from his bosom and shot the bat dead. There was no need to shoot twice, for he fell over at once. His flesh suddenly dried up and his bones fell apart. The demon then entered the castle and took possession.

"As soon as he was gone in, the bat, though he was a slain deity, yet got up, and with a smile on his face walked in after the demon. The fiend was very greatly surprised to see him. But the bat quickly glided round behind him to where he kept his poisoned arrows, seized them, and in his turn shot the demon dead. The bat was therefore found to be a very wise and exalted bird. For did he not slay that fearful demon? And so it comes to pass that flitter-mice are kept as charms and worshipped."

226

mer were split up the middle and dried in the sun. So 251
dried, I did not think them good eating. 262

All kinds of fish, fresh water and salt, great and 226
small, were worshipped as gods or feared as demons, 776
and thus it comes to pass that when the Ainu speak of the gods and demons of the rivers and sea, they generally refer to some kind of fish or marine animal. The following were the chief fresh water fish caught by the men.

In the rivers of Hokkaidō, the salmon and salmon trout were reckoned as the chief fish and were called gods in a sense often rather more honorable than that of mere courtesy. Then there were the pike, mudtrout, perch, roach and some other small fry. Around the sea coast there were sardines, herrings, mackerel, codfish, bream, soles, plaice, sharks, swordfish, whales and porpoises. And there were to be found at some places, oysters, scallops, mussels, clams, whelks, large crabs and so forth. It was truly a lordly supply. The old men of the present day say they can only "lick their chops and think of what once was."

The chief marine animals speared were otters, walruses, seals and sea-leopards. They were killed with harpoons and spears, and the men were very expert in using the instruments, were excellent boatmen and could swim like fish.

When collecting folk-lore from these people, I some- 115
times found my informants would start off on their own account, and by allowing them to carry on so, I managed to obtain quite a number of stories I could not have got otherwise. The following remarkable legend is one of them. I have called it "A Fish Famine Legend."

"There was a certain man of wealth, through whose 539
property there passed a fine river which always 226
abounded in excellent fish. Every year he caught very many, which he smoked and stowed away in six (six

777 with the idol, into the river. I went and rescued it
778 and am now keeping it till the Japanese make another shrine for it and set it up elsewhere. The image is supposed to represent one whom the Japanese call Yoshitsune, who came to Piratori, as some think, to escape the sword of his brother, many years ago. Please pardon me for putting him in your room when you are away."

It is supposed by some that Yoshitsune (a historical Japanese warrior of the twelfth century) fled from the Main Island of Japan and came to Hokkaidō, where he was lost sight of. But it is really very doubtful whether he ever came to this island. In fact, the most learned students and authorities in Japanese history will have it that he was beheaded at Hiraizumi, near Sendai, and the Ainu themselves are very doubtful, and can afford no reliable proof of his presence here. However, the large shrine which has been set up at Piratori is a purely Japanese affair, built in my time. It has its Japanese priest; the people, Ainu and Japanese, are assessed for its upkeep, and the school children all have to go to the shrine for worship on festivals and high-days. Thus Yoshitsune has become the tutelary god of Piratori, and one more deity has been added to the Japanese pantheon.

● 776 The Ainu have handed down to posterity the names of very few heroes. Aeoina, "the Teacher," who has been frequently mentioned in these pages, takes the lead. After him comes one called Ponyaumbe, sometimes called Yairespo, "The solitary One," and then one other whom they called Samatuye. But very little is said of any of them. The very latest man of note in Hokkaidō was named Shagushain Ainu. He had a sort of fort at Shipichara (Shimogeho) on a hill by the river. In the year 1669 (the 9th year of Kambun)

In the year 1669 (the 9th year of Kambun) 776

he sent an army against the Lord of Matsumai, but finally sued for peace, which was granted without fine. [175]

The following is an interesting legend I have frequently heard in Saru. It is called "Pon-ya-un-be," which I believe means "The little man of the mountains." The legend shows him fighting with one called Samatuye Ainu, which I believe is a word meaning "Seashore man," though the legend itself gives a different derivation.

"We three, my younger sister, my elder brother 539 and I were brought up together. One night I found 628 myself quite unable to sleep; but whether what I now relate was seen in a dream, or whether it really took place, I cannot say.

"At the source of our river, and on the tops of the mountains there, I saw a great herd of bucks feeding by themselves. At the head of the herd there was a very large buck with speckled horns. There was also a herd of does by themselves, at the head of which there was a speckled one prancing about in front of her fellows. So I sat up in my bed, buckled on my belt which I had wound round my body, and tied my hat strings under my chin. I then fastened on my leggings, which were made of grass, slipped on my best boots, stuck my favourite sword in my girdle, took my quiver-sling in my hand, seized my bow, which was made of yew and ornamented with cherry bark at the middle, and sallied forth.

"The dust upon the road by the riverside was flying about. I was taken up by the wind and it was as though I rode along upon the clouds. My elder brother and younger sister followed along behind me. In truth, as we went along we saw that the mountains were covered with great herds of bucks and does. The bucks had a speckled male at their head; its horns even were speckled. There was also a speckled doe at the head of the females.

power of speech and the other with powers of a mad- 539
man's chatter, who imitates what others may be 825
saying. I then sat down as before and told the lady 789
what was happening about the bears. That done, I made myself a little burrow, furnished it with fetishes, and waited there, well hidden from view.

"As I sat thus in my burrow, I heard someone walking *thud, thud, swish, swish, snap, snap, sh, sh,* through the forest, the sounds varying as the walking was on dry or damp ground, on withered or green twigs. He came right up to the house and turned out to be a great he-bear. As soon as I saw him, I jumped upon a beam with a mighty howl, which one of the tree stumps took up and the other imitated like a madman. At the same time down fell the stumps right on his back. With a grunt of wrath he turned and fled. I hastened to re-arrange the two stumps and had only just finished when along came another bear, a very old and mighty one. I jumped up as before, the stumps howled as I had taught them, and then they fell heavily on his back. He became very angry and rushed off growling loudly.

"I then retired to my burrow behind the house 539
and stayed there quietly. I soon heard that those two 825
mighty bears went straight to my brothers, five foxes 776
in all, killed them and broke up all their bones. At last 782
the master returned with much rice, *saké*, cloth and 778
other goods. I heard his wife say to him when they were sitting by the fire, 'While you were away, six little brother foxes came twice and used their magical skill by which they endeavored to steal my soul away. But thanks to the youngest of them, a very tiny fox, who is a poor, weakly creature, you now find me alive. Next they prayed to two great he-bears to help them, but, thanks again to that little fox, I still live.' When he heard this, the gentleman was very grateful to me

539 and made many fetishes for me, which he set up in
825 various places.

● 776 "Thanks to this, I have become a new creature,
782 strong and well, and big. And I have become his
778 guardian angel. When I look down from above and see this fine gentleman, I find that whatever he does, he does well, and he has become the richest man in the whole of that district. He has prospered beyond all others, because I look down upon him with favour."

101 hear of the Yezo Ainos, the Tsuishikari Ainos, and even of the Kurile
Ainos. In this communication the name Aino is applied only to those
people who are natives of Yezo. The Tsuishikari Ainos who recently
came from Saghalien, and who are undoubtedly the same people but
with slight differences in language and custom, will be invariably distinguished
by the full name. The so-called Kurile Ainos are wrongly
named. This name is given to the pit-dwellers of Shikotan, who are
101 quite distinct from the Ainos. Mr. John Batchelor, of the Church
114 Missionary Society, who has lived among the Ainos of southern Yezo
for a number of years, and who has recently published a grammar of
the Aino language and is about to publish a dictionary also, contends
that the proper name for the people is Ainu. The best account of the
Ainos of Saghalien is to be found in the very valuable work of Dr. L.
Schrenck, "Reisen und Forschungen in Amurlande," vol. III. It has
been said that the word was derived from the Japanese *inu*, meaning
dog. This is what the Japanese assert, and they say that the Ainos
are such an inferior race of people that they were called dogs. But
Mr. Batchelor points out that the Japanese* more frequently derive
the word from *ai-no-ko*, children of the middle. According to this
author the word is not of Japanese origin, but, in the language of the
people, means "men," descendants of Aioina. Aioina is the name of
the first ancestor of the Ainos, who is worshiped as such by the peo-
● [176] ple, but in English and also in German writings they have long been
known as Ainos, and it seems unnecessary to make a change at this
late day.

622 Formerly, it is said, the Ainos were subject to a powerful and
wealthy chief, who lived at Piratori and received tribute from all the
Ainos in the land. This is related by the Ainos themselves. However
this may have been in the past, no traces of allegiance to a single ruler
now remain. Each village has its own chief and a number of officers
who assist him in preserving order and punishing wrong-doers. The
chieftainship is hereditary in the family. It has recently been shown
172 by the researches of Milne, Morse, Chamberlain, and others that Japan
proper was once inhabited by a race of people different from the present
Japanese, and from a comparison of the remains found in shell-heaps
and kitchen-middens in many parts of Japan, even as far south
as Kiushiu, with similar remains found in Yezo, it is thought that the
Ainos once inhabited Japan. The evidence upon this subject seems at
first sight rather conflicting, but on the whole it is tolerably conclusive.
It is convincing if we consider only the probable, indeed the almost posi-
174 tive, Aino origin of geographical place-names in every part of the
177 archipelago.† It is apparently weak if we consider only the very remote
relations to be observed between the languages, mythologies, and

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* Transasiatic Society Japan, XVI, 18.

† The Language, Mythology, and Geographical nomenclature of Japan viewed in the light of Aino Studies. Prof. B. H. Chamberlain.

226 are each year utilized for the same purpose. The true salmon is also abundant on the coast. The fisheries of Yezo are too valuable to be conducted in the present careless and wasteful manner, and by proper government control might readily become a great source of wealth to Japan.

BOATS.

501 The ordinary river boats or canoes are dugouts. A common form is shown in Plate CX, from Tokoro on the north. A different form from Urap is represented in Plate CXI. The dimensions of a dugout at Tesikaga, a small village far up the Kusuri River, were as follows:

Width of ends	inches..	11
Width of middle	do....	28
Length, about	feet...	26

This boat was made of a single log, with considerable sheer at the ends.

Boats intended for rough water are often built with dugout logs for the bottom, and a free-board of considerable height made of planks bound on with bark lashings. Many of the large fishing boats are made in this manner and they are exceedingly strong. They measure perhaps 50 feet in length and 10 feet beam, with a great sheer, especially in front.

RELIGION.

771 The Aino religion is a very primitive nature-worship. The gods are
776 invisible, formless conceptions, known as *kamui*, such as the house god, the god of fire, and the deities of mountain, forest, sea, and river. The sun and moon occupy a subordinate position among them. There are no priests nor temples, but within every house there is one corner sacred to the house-god. The god of fire, who is esteemed highest of all, is worshiped at the fire-place in the middle of the room. The others receive their due at the *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge (Pl. CXII), which will be described in the account of the bear feast further on. It might naturally be supposed that this rude structure of branches and poles represents what was originally a hedge or fence built around the house
[778 for protection against the inroads of wild beasts, or possibly against
297] enemies. The skulls of bears and foxes may have originally been placed upon the hedge as charms against evil. All this, however, is purely speculative; but there is a picture in Mr. Greey's book, "The Bear Worshipers of Yezo" (p. 105), representing a house of rather unusual form, which is shown to be protected on at least three sides by a rude sort of fence, such as may well be regarded as an early counterpart of the *nusha kamui*.

776 In addition to the sacred hedge, upon which the bear and fox skulls are displayed, there is a smaller hedge, before which the hulls of food-

grains are thrown in heaps. This is known as the *murukuta-nusha* 773 (*muru* hulls, *kuta* to throw), and it is under the special protection of a female deity, who would be offended if the hulls were thrown broadcast over the ground.

Storms are caused by the strife of the thunder-gods who dwell in the 321 clouds. These gods are associated with the lion, for it is related that 776 the people once caught a lion, which escaped on a black cloud. The thunder is the noise of battling hosts, and the glancing swords the lightning. At least so says Dr. Scheube, but the idea is almost too poetical for the Ainos.

Some of the Japanese deities have found a place among the native 776 gods, but these are foreign to the spirit of the Aino religion and can 777 scarcely receive great reverence. In one house I saw three shrines, evidently representing the Japanese *kami dana*. Before one of them were some faded artificial flowers standing in bottles clearly labeled "Lemon Drops, J. T. Morton."

The Japanese hero Yoshitsune is supposed to have fled to Yezo, and is generally regarded as the famous personage known to the Ainos as Okikurumi. It is said that the Ainos have only a single divinity of human origin, the ancestor of the race, Aioina. Nevertheless, there has long been a simple shrine to Yoshitsune on the summit of a hill near Piratori, which Miss Bird has described. But this author* refers to Yoshitsune as "the great god of the mountain Ainos." It is even doubtful whether the Ainos did in fact worship Yoshitsune as a god; certainly it is incredible that he should be elevated to the high place assigned to him by Miss Bird. I was myself on the spot, with the famous chief Benri as my guide, but a recent storm, which had delayed me by making the rivers impassable, had also blown the shrine away, and its fragments were lying scattered down the steep hill-side.

The Ainos have but few religious symbols. The most important of 778 these are the *inao*, frequently called god-sticks, three forms of which are represented in Fig. 86. In some way, not very clearly understood, these represent the gods. One or more will always be found stuck in the ashes of the fireplace, and others here and there at convenient places on the wall of the house. They are simply ingeniously whittled sticks, usually of willow, with the long curled shavings pendant. Some have short spirals directed upward and are covered with bark at the lower end. Further notes upon their variety and use will be found in the course of the description of the bear feast.

The sacred quiver is made of carved wood with various metallic trimmings representing the sun and moon. It is associated with the house god, but during the great bear feast it is hung on the sacred hedge. The skulls of bears and foxes are placed on the sacred hedge. The former are by far the more common, but every house is said to contain at least one fox skull, which may be a treasure handed down ter as to be worthy of a full description; but, since I was unable to be 796 present at a celebration myself, I can do no better than to give a rather full account of the ceremonies as witnessed by Dr. Scheube,[*] who has published the only complete description yet given by an eye witness. The original article is rather long, but in somewhat condensing the description it is believed that no detail of importance or significance has been omitted.

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* Bird, Isabella L. Unbeaten Tracks in Japan, ii, 72.

Before entering upon a description of the festival the bear-cage and 343 *nusha kamui* should be noticed. The bear-cage is represented in Plate CXIII. The cages are all of this general form, built of logs notched at the ends so as to hold securely together. The bear sometimes makes most strenuous efforts to free himself by scratching and gnawing with his teeth through the tough, heavy rails, so that it becomes necessary to take out the old ones and replace them with others. This is easily done, for, owing to the manner of putting the cage together, any rail can be replaced by prying up those above it.

I saw many such bear-cages in the course of my travels in Yezo, but it is said that they are less numerous now than they formerly were. The *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge, already referred to, is represented in 778 Plate CXII, from a photograph taken at Urap. It is also shown in some of the succeeding plates. This rude hedge of rough poles is an important structure in connection with the ceremony about to be described, as well as in other religious observances. The significance of the name is not exactly "temple," but it is the nearest approach to "temple" in the Aino language. Before it prayers are recited to most of the gods, although not to all, as we shall see. It is here designated "sacred hedge" for convenience.

Dr. Scheube witnessed the bear feast in 1880, and his account reads 114 substantially as given below. Plates CXIV to CXVII, illustrating the ceremonies at the bear feast, are reproductions of Japanese drawings, from a makimono formerly belonging to Mr. Edward Greey, now in possession of the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Dr. G. Brown Goode. Dr. Scheube has given two illustrations of the ceremony, which are substantially the same, although in one picture the crushed bear has his head directed toward the sacred hedge, while the men sit with their backs against the hedge. Perhaps there is no established custom in the matter, and such incidental changes are of no significance.

THE BEAR CULTUS OF THE AINOS.

[Condensed from Dr. B. Scheube.]

According to the accounts of travelers concerning the Ainos, the 825 bear is honored by this peculiar people as a god. But it would be an 776

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[*] Der Bärencultus und die Bärenfeste der Ainos, mit einigen Bemerkungen über die Tänze derselben. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Dec., 1880.

825 776 error to suppose that the Ainos regard the bear as a god in the same sense as they do the God of Fire, for example, or any of their other numerous deities. The bear is called *Kimui; Kamui-Kamui* is an Aino word having about the same meaning as the Japanese *Kami*, and perhaps is derived from it. But the same word is used as an honorable [576] appellation for foreign visitors, upon whom we can not possibly believe they would confer the attributes of a deity.

The Ainos have good reason to respect the bear. It is a most valuable animal, affording them food and clothing and a medicine, the bear-gall, which is greatly prized. On the other hand, it can do them great injury, as when it destructively enters their dwellings and kills their domestic animals. Therefore it is natural that they should seek to propitiate the bear, to confer upon him a title of great honor, and that they should consider an atonement necessary for putting him to death. They place the skull of the dead bear on the sacred hedge, the *nusha kamui*, which is found on the east side of every house, where it is held sacred [778] and honored as a representative of the gods under the name *Kamui marapto*. The *nusha kamui*, god's fence, or sacred hedge, (Pl. CXII) is where the various gods are worshiped, except the God of Fire and the house-god, to which offerings are made at certain places within the house. The bear feast is named *iomante*. This ceremony, as well as the preliminary feeding and rearing of a young bear, has also the motive of an atonement to the whole bear tribe for the killing of its brothers and sisters.

231 796 At the end of winter a young bear is caught, placed in a cage (Pl. CXIII), and reared in the village. At first it is suckled by the wife of the captor, afterwards fed with fish. The bear festival usually takes place in September or October, by which time the young bear has grown so large and strong as to threaten to break the cage. The Ainos first endeavor to exculpate themselves before the gods for what they are about to undertake. Having rendered the bear every favor possible, they can no longer keep him in captivity; therefore it is necessary to kill him.

796 The man who gives the feast, assumes the expense thereof and invites his relatives and friends. Such a festival is, considering the poverty of the Ainos, very expensive, for enormous quantities of saké are consumed. Hence it is considered a great honor to give a bear feast. At the present time the bear feasts are becoming more and more infrequent. On the east coast, so far as I traveled (from Tomakomai to Volcano Bay), no bear feast had been held for several years. The same remark applies to the district around Mori, on Volcano Bay. I have generally seen caged bears only on the road from Urap to Oshamambe. In this region I found the Ainos least affected by culture. Here, in the small village of Kunnai, I spent the day, which will be the subject of the following description:

On the 10th of August of this year, about noon, I arrived at Kunnai, 4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

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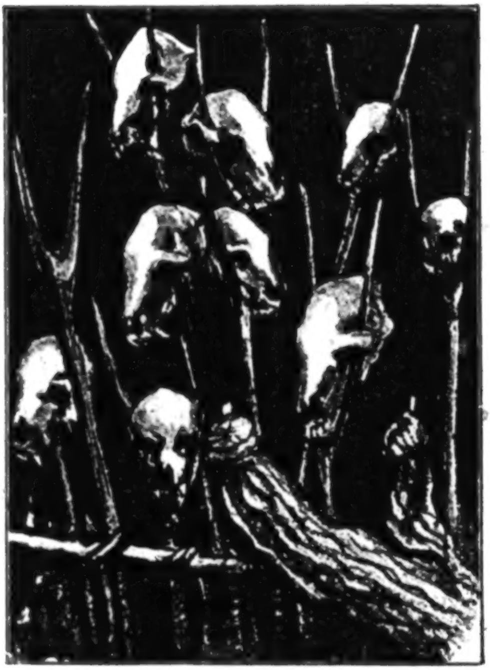

TROPHY OF BEARS' SKULLS.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Ainu Superstitions—Morals—Laws and Punishments.

I CANNOT begin this chapter better than by saying that Ainu religious ideas are essentially chaotic. They recognise no supreme God, and no intelligent Creator; and they cannot be called polytheists, for indeed they are not *worshippers* of any power—taking the word in its full meaning. The Ainu worship nothing. 771 [776] ●

If they have any belief at all it is an imperfect kind of Totemism, and the central point of that belief is their own descent from the "bear." This does not include the smallest reverence for their ancestor. They capture their "Totem and keep it in captivity; they speak to it and feed it; but no prayers are offered to it. When the bear is fat, it is taken out of the cage to be ill-treated and baited by all the men present. It is tied to a stake and a pole is thrust into its mouth; and 771 805 577

[p. 281]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

are all things for which an Ainu has a dumb kind of regard, 771
not amounting to reverence, as he knows that he could not live without them. This has led some persons to define these objects as the principal divinities of the Ainu, and to call the 776
people themselves polytheists. The word *Kamoi*, or *Kamui*, 192
has been rendered as "god," gods "divinity." Now, what does the word *Kamoi*, or *Kamui*, really mean? Translated literally it means "old" or "ancient"; but amongst a hundred other meanings it also denotes "large," "beautiful," "strange," "it," "the man," "he who," &c. In fact, it is used to qualify anything, whether good or bad; and in some ways corresponds to our adjectives "wonderful," "awful," "grand"; but assuredly the Ainu do not by this word mean to designate the objects thus described as so many gods. Anything for which they entertain respect or fear is described as *Kamoi*, or *Kamui*, which thus is applied to the sun, the moon, the stars, mountains, rivers, old trees, bears, salmon, large stones, &c., not with the intention of making them divinities, but simply to specify their power, greatness, or antiquity. The word is applied to every kind of thing, animate or inanimate, good or bad, respected or derided, dreaded or revered, admired or abhorred. It is sometimes a prefix, sometimes an affix, and is the most universal attribute the Ainu world or language contains. We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion, that either the Ainu are polytheists or pantheists to such an extent as occasionally to make everything and everybody a god; or else, that translators have given their own, and a greatly exaggerated, meaning to the word *Kamui*, and that these so-called gods are not gods at all. To me there is no alternative opinion on the matter. The Ainu have no gods in our sense.

Basing conclusions on wrong premises, writers on the Ainu religion have been naturally led astray altogether. For instance, the composite word *Kotan-kara-kamui*,[1] which a learned missionary has translated "Creator," only means "the man who made the village"—a description which hardly corresponds to the grandeur attributed to the words by its imaginative translator.

Then again, *Kamui kotan*, which according to some means

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[1] *Kotan*, village, place, site; *kara*, to make, build; *kamui*, the man, ancient, strength.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

776 "the home of God," in its real signification is "an ancient
192 village; a beautiful place." When *Kamui* is applied to persons, it is generally a suffix; when to things, it is a prefix.

778 But let us come to the *inao*, which by some have been called the "Ainu gods," by others "Divine symbols." These *inao* are willow-wands, with shavings depending from the upper end, sometimes from the middle, and occasionally from near the lower end as well.

The larger wands are about four feet in length, and have either one or two bunches of shavings at the upper end only. They go by the name of *inao netuba*, or "big *inao*." Other smaller *inao*, like the *Chisei-kara-inao*,[1] are kept in the house, and stuck in the eastern corner of the hearth, and in the wall directly opposite the entrance door. Some of the *inao* are shaved upwards from the bottom, others downwards from the top; and one, a big *inao*, is often thrust through the small window facing the east. Sometimes they are placed about singly, especially inside the huts; but outside, close to the eastern wall, I have often seen eight or ten standing together in a row. When so taken collectively they are called *nuza*. On Volcano Bay, up the Saru River, and on the Lake Kutcharo, where it is the custom of the Ainu to make trophies of the skulls of bears and deer which have been killed in the hunt, one or two *inao* are placed at the foot of the trophy. Sometimes, but very rarely, a whole *nuza* is to be seen in front of a trophy; but in most cases the *nuza* I saw were near huts that had no trophy at all, and, as I say, only very seldom were they in front of the trophy itself, unless a bear feast was going on. I am therefore under the impression that these *nuza* are only put up when some festival takes place, and that they are not kept there permanently. I remember that at Piratori there were no *inao* and no *nuza* outside Benry's house, but on the day that the festival took place one was put up, and several *inao* were placed inside the hut, in the hearth and on the north wall. Likewise, a *nuza* was put up on the same day at the east end of the hut in which the feast was given, and the inside was also adorned with *inao* of various sizes and descriptions. Each *inao* is pointed at the lower end, so as to be easily stuck in the ground. The *inao* of all

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[1] *Chisei*, house, dwelling, hut; *kara*, make; also, have.

789 778 171 visited the house again. Italian and Spanish women and children almost invariably carry charms round their necks, that are to keep them safe from harm; and, furthermore, when a child falls ill, one or more red rags are fastened to its bed before a doctor is sent for. Then, again, people suffering from epileptic fits have often been supposed to be "possessed," and beaten to death or burnt alive, so that the evil spirit which was in them should thus be destroyed. It must be borne in mind that not many centuries ago similar beliefs were prevalent even in free and enlightened England.

778 789 171 If we compare these beliefs with those of the Ainu, we find that they differ very little either in form or substance. In place of the witches which our own ancestors, modern Italians, and Spaniards, and some benighted peasantry still to be found in the West of England, believed, and do still believe in, the 776 Ainu have imaginary animals or evil spirits. The wands and red rags of our Latin neighbours are represented by their *inao;* and our lucky horseshoe is with them the horizontal *inao.* Charms are worn by the Ainu men, women, and children; and when going to war or to hunt the men carry a block of wood to which their knife or sword is attached, and on the right-hand side of which hangs a small *inao.*

These blocks of wood are flattened, and are elliptical at both ends. Their length varies from four to fifteen inches, and sometimes ornaments—generally circles—are carved on them. A string is fastened on one side so as to sling them to the shoulder; but they are usually carried under the arm. They are supposed to protect the carrier from accidents, and also to bring him good fortune.

771 171 We see, then, that similar ideas are entertained by utterly different peoples thousands of miles distant from one another; and that certain superstitious beliefs left on this side of the globe find their parallel among the hairy people on the other. Of course with them it is natural that their beliefs should count for more than with Europeans, as civilisation has not in any way enlarged or improved their minds; but it seems to me unfair that the same identical beliefs should go under the name of *superstitions* when applied to Europeans, and called the "Ainu religion" when practised by the hairy inhabitants of Northern Japan. Though to this I know it may be replied

972 Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu atheists, or
776 polytheists, after what we have heard of their gods, this is a somewhat surprising statement. It will be remembered that anything good or bad, dreaded or repulsive, respected or not respected, is qualified by the Ainu as *Kamui*, and we shall attribute for a while the imaginary meaning of "God" to the word. Now, if everything and everybody, good or bad, is equally a god, I myself fail to see the necessity of a hell, as the chances are that all the gods would inhabit heaven. This alone serves to show how absurd the theory is; but I wish to give the exact trans-
772 lation of the words *Kando* and *Teine-pokna-moshiri*, which are
192 said to be the two Ainu expressions for "heaven" and "hell."

Kando means "sky," not "heaven." *Teine-pokna-moshiri*[1] stands for the "wet earth under (ground)." As the Ainu are in the habit of burying their dead, I find it more rational to apply to the words in question the meaning of a "burial-place," a "cold place of rest" rather than that of Hades or Gehenna.

775 "They" (the Ainu), says a learned missionary, "seem to conceive of men and women as living in large communities in the other world in the same way and under the same conditions as they do in this, excepting that they can know no death." In other words, resurrection of the body and eternal life.

Strange to say, the writer of the same lines asserted in the "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,"[2] that "The Ainu *know nothing* of a resurrection of the body."

181 It must not be argued that because they have no religion the Ainu are bad people. They are far from it. They are decidedly not moral, for nothing is immoral among them. The Ainu must be considered more as animals than as human beings. When we speak of a dog, we do not ask whether it is a moral dog, but only if it is a good dog. The same can be said of the Ainu. We cannot compare them to ourselves, nor judge them by our own standard of morality. Taken by themselves they are gentle, kind, brave, and above everything they are simple. Their language, manners, customs, arts, habits, as we have seen, are the very simplest and rudest possible. Thus, it is absurd to suppose that such simple brains could entertain high religious ideas. If they had brains enough to compass high religious beliefs they would long ago have used those

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[1] *Teine*, wet; *pokna*, under; *moshiri*, earth, place, island.

[2] Vol. X., Part II., § 6.

loyalties which might result from a typical double (or bilineal) descent 611
system were absent among the Saru Ainu. 614

Principal Features of the Patrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Ancestral emblem*. All men belonging to the same patrilineal 614
group shared an ancestral emblem or crest of the same form. This emblem, known as *itokpa*, was inherited from father to son and served as the principal symbol of the group (Natori 1940; 1945: 41-51). Whether or not every member of the group had to be able to trace patrilineal descent from the founding ancestor is not clear. Although many men can still do so, this does not appear to have been required. It was rather the emblem itself which served as the concrete proof of the membership. Daughters, of course, did not inherit the emblem.

(2) *Guardian deity*. All members of a patrilineal descent group 614
worshipped the same guardian deity, known as *pase-onkami*. The 776
deities worshipped were the bear, owl, fox, dolphin, etc. The Ainu 778
believed that these deities had once been protectors of their ancestors. For this reason some writers have regarded these deities as totems, but none of our data seems to support this view. There is today no clear notion among the Ainu that these animals share flesh and blood in common with their ancestors or that the animals should not be killed or eaten. The Ainu lack any totemic myth to explain the origin of the relationship between an animal and those who worship it. Also, in each family, the worship of the guardian deity was conducted by the head of the family. There were no totemic ceremonies [796]
or feasts at which all those who worshipped the same animal congregated to strengthen the solidarity of the group.

Although the ancestral crest and the guardian deity were supposed to be transmitted through both the main line and all the branch lines of a descent group, some of the branch lines, and even the main line, have at times partially modified the crest in the course of generations and have replaced the original guardian deity with another. This phenomenon suggests a mechanism of segmentation in the Ainu kinship organization, although there is no direct evidence of this.

(3) *Perpetuation of the descent line*. Patrilineal descent was 614
normally continued from father to son. In the absence of male [611]
heirs, however, it was common for an Ainu family to have a son-in- [606]
law or a foster son inherit the emblem and worship the group's [608]
guardian deity. The father-in-law or foster father would ask the guardian deity if his son-in-law or foster son might be admitted to the patrilineal group, and, when permission was granted, he taught the novice about the ancestral emblem and the deity of the group. Since these recruits were considered full-fledged members of a patrilineal group, genealogies provided by native informants do not necessarily reflect strictly biological descent.

Immigrants to a village and servants whom the Ainu considered
good men might also be given the right to share the emblem of the [608]
descent group of the village, worship its deity, and thus be incor-

and the leader of the patrilineal group, ***utar-pake***, which suggests that 614 the kin group and the territorial group were regarded conceptually 621 as separate entities.[5] Takakura (1944: 63) states that the head of a [622] kin group (*utar-pake*) "was traditionally the representative of a village and at the same time maintained the order of the village." This suggests that the head of the patrilineal group was also the village leader. If a village included two or more patrilineal groups, the head of one of them seems to have been the village leader. The specific duties of the village headman are not known; but whatever they may have been, the headman does not seem to have had any great author- [622] ity. The position of the village head was inherited patrilineally within the descent group as a whole—in contrast to the "man's treasure," which was inherited within the family.

(6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). Since a detailed analysis 614 of Ainu ancestor worship is available elsewhere (Kubodera 1952), 769 we shall consider only the questions of (a) who participated in these rites and (b) which ancestors were worshipped. The family head or a closely related older patrikin, knowledgeable in ceremonial matters, officiated at the ritual. The family head's daughters and his father's sisters and daughters, who, of course, belonged to different matrilineal groups, also participated. The ancestors worshipped on these occasions were the male participants' fathers, grandfathers, and other male ancestors and the female participants' mothers, grandmothers, and other ancestresses. As the priest prayed to these ancestors [776] through the deity of fire, they in turn convoked other ancestors, so that a large number of ancestors were worshipped at the same time. All the male ancestors propitiated were members of a single patrilineal group, whereas the ancestresses belonged to several different matrilineal groups.

Principal Features of the Matrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Belt.* Underneath her clothes every adolescent or mature 614 Ainu woman wore a belt, called *upshor* (Segawa 1952). This belt was 778 never to be shown or talked about, and a great deal of magical belief 293 was associated with it. Women who belonged to the same matrilineal group wore belts which were made in the same manner and differed from those worn by women of other descent groups. The belt was thus the symbol and proof of membership in the matrilineal group, as the ancestral crest was of the patrilineal group. A woman without a female blood relative from whom to inherit a belt some- [425] times received one from a woman belonging to a different matrilineal descent group. Moreover, if a woman married a son or brother of a woman who possessed the same type of belt as hers—in violation of the exogamous rule to be discussed below—the bride changed the type of belt she wore. Her daughter, however, reverted to the use of the original belt.

(2) *Inheritance of special skills.* Magical skills to cure illness 428 and to communicate with the gods, midwifery, and the ability to 868 recite Ainu epics are said to have been inherited matrilineally by 789 424

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6Ainu AB6

THE INAU CULT OF THE AINU.

BY LEO STERNBERG,

ST. PETERSBURG.

121 THE beliefs and religious rites of the Ainu are possibly the most interesting feature in their culture. One of the oddest peculiarities in their cult, the cult of *inau,* I shall present in this paper. My aim will be, not so much to describe completely the cult as to elucidate its genesis, — a question which I have had ample occasion to study during my personal observations of the Ainu, as well as later on in working up the Ainu collection of the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. But first on the Ainu religion in general.

776 774 [171] 1. In their fundamental religious conceptions, the Ainu stand quite close to the primitive so-called "shamanistic" religions of the native tribes of Siberia, particularly to that of the Gilyak, their immediate neighbors on Saghalin. All objects and phenomena appear to them, not only as living, animated beings, but even as endowed with complete individuality. The *Ainu* ("the man"), a being one and the same in his nature, is concealed under all multiplicity of forms. A tree, a mountain, [82] and a cliff are living, rational beings, listening, understanding, moving, acting; a small animal, as a frog, may be endowed with the highest intelligence, — an intelligence greater even than that of man; a man may be born from a tree (such, for [773] example, is the legend of the origin of the Ainu themselves), and contract marriage even with beings like a flounder; a felled tree may be revivified, if the shavings into which a small stick has been cut be put into the stump; and even objects made by man, such as a kettle, spear, knife, boat, etc., possess a soul, and may follow man to the other world, etc.

778 779 772 With such a belief, it is but natural that the Ainu should treat as *divine* every object of external nature, every phenomenon which in any way appeals to his imagination, and exhibits properties in which he himself is lacking, or those superior

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 to his own. All of these are divine objects, and are called
771 *kamui* in the Ainu language. Even a man may be a kamui,
●776 provided he distinguish himself among his kinsmen by some-
[554] thing, — bravery, eloquence, success, etc. But not all kamui
are objects of worship.

825 The Ainu pantheon is almost exclusively *zoölogical.* There
776 is not a beast, especially of the large ones, — like the bear, the
782 whale, the orc, the walrus, the sea-lion, the seal, the sable, the
171 otter, etc., — which he does not honor with the name "kamui."
Beast and kamui are synonymous. In contrast to the Gilyak, Orok, and other natives of the Amur region, who discriminate between a mere beast and a god-beast, — that is, a god-man who has assumed the shape of this or that beast, — the Ainu, in addition, see a kamui in each beast as such. But, like the Gilyak, they pay a properly conscious worship (in the form of offerings and prayers), not to beast in general, but to the "masters"[1] of each species or element, who, in their turn, too, are called *kamui* (in the sense of "master"), with the appellation of this or that sphere of nature added; for example, *nuburi-kamui* ("master of the mountain"), *atui-kamui* ("master of the sea"), *toy-kamui* ("master of the subterranean world"), *chup-kamui* ("master of the sun"), etc.

776 The principal gods on whom the welfare of the Ainu depends are the "masters" of the mountain and sea, who supply them with the main objects of subsistence, — beasts, fish, sea-animals. These are purely zoölogical gods. The one is the "master" of the bear. On the one hand, he is a man; on the other, a real bear, only of unusually large size. All other bears are his fellow-tribesmen.

The "master" of the sea is the orc, *Orca gladiator.* The cult of this beast, as well as the cult of the bear, I have described in detail in my article on the religion of the Gilyak.[2]

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[1] Here and throughout this article the words "master" and "mistress" are used in a special sense. Both are a translation of the Russian word *khozyain* (literally, "proprietor of a house"), then a well-to-do man, an esteemed proprietor in the village or town. Just as in communities there are well-to-do, respected citizens and poor fellows, so, among the gods and animals, there are kamui ("masters"), those better off, respected, powerful, those of authority.

[2] See Ethnographical Review (Russian), February, 1904.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 A86 Ainu A86

776 An "imported" (Japanese) deity, who now plays well-nigh
177 the most important part, — more in word, however, than in fact, — seems to be the "master" of the sun (*chup-kamui*), who, according to the present popular views, is the greatest deity, lording it over all the other gods. In reality this deity has little connection with every-day life. He is naturally closely associated with the "master" of the gens-fire, who plays a really great part.

776 Besides the principal kamui, there is a series of other, secondary ones. These are the kamui of the gens, such as the "master" of the hut — *yurta* — (*tisse-kamui*), the grandmother or the "mistress" of the fire, and other hero-ancestors; finally, numberless "masters" of individual rivulets, groves, valleys, mountains, cliffs, etc. All of these are kind, beneficent kamui, on whom man's whole welfare depends. They are his nourishers and guardians, defenders from all evils and disasters.

But there are also beings whose special business it is constantly to harm the Ainu, and to bring upon him disease and even death. For these beings, whom commonly he does not even honor with the appellation "kamui," he has no cult whatever. For them he has no offerings, no prayers, nor even simple piety. With them the Ainu finds it possible only to struggle.
776 The secrets of this, so to speak, art of war, are known to the
756 shamans (*takusa ainu*), who play among them a rôle similar
782 to that among all primitive peoples, though they do not, however, enjoy any special esteem or influence. But the benevolent deities they hold in veneration. To them long and eloquent prayers are offered; with them the Ainu share their best viands and beverages; and finally in their honor are set up, wherever
[778] possible, those countless objects, varied in form and size, which are known among them under the name "inau."

778 2. There are inau of the most varied shapes and destina-
322 tions. The most common type is a small stick, skilfully cut at various points into shavings in the form of curls (see Plate XXXIV, Figs. 1–4). The usual material is willow-wood; less
[824] frequently alder or mountain-ash may be used, according to the end in view. Generally the stick is first stripped of its bark, and then roughly planed with a knife; but sometimes the bark

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

The

778 124 779 776 Ainu tells this deity[1] his wants, and he will convey them to the kamui. One goes to the 'master' of the fire; another, to that of the mountain; another still, to the 'master' of the sea; and all of them help the Ainu." — "And how can a little stick talk?" — "It is not the stick, but its *soul*, that goes and re-tells all to the kamui. Why, even a tree — that, too, has a soul."

778 774 Nisendus but formulated that which even previously I had had occasion to observe and hear everywhere among the Ainu, and earlier still among the Gilyak. Thus *inau is not a deity, nor an offering, but a living mediator between gods and man,* — a "wooden man," who is endowed with the faculty of conveying rapidly, eloquently, and efficiently the wants of man to the gods.

778 776 782 The epithet "kamui," which the Ainu bestow so lavishly upon any animal whatever, upon many of their fellow-tribesmen, even upon every material object seeming extraordinary or mysterious, is never applied to inau. They are treated, it is true, as tabooed objects, but by no means as deities. The Ainu pray before them. Every day, before the nusa behind the eastern window, most fervently do the elders of the house lift up their voices in lengthy prayers; but these prayers are addressed to the respective deities, and not to the inau. Before the inau, libations of the sacrificial *sake* are made; on them, various trifles (shreds of cloth, sabre-hilts, ear-rings, etc.) are hung; but all of these are offerings which the inau, or rather their souls, must deliver to the respective gods.

For the expression "offering" there is a special term, *inomi*, denoting all kinds of food, beverages, tobacco, cloth-stuffs, valuables, presented to the gods, but by no means to the inau. And naturally, too, the inau as mediators are needed by men, but not by deities.

778 182 789 Notwithstanding their modest rôle of mediators, the inau, in the eyes of the Ainu, are of immense importance; for without them, not a prayer would be heard, not a want would be satisfied, and life itself would be impossible. *Inau sak guru,* "a man without an inau," is the last man (Batchelor).

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[963] [554] [1] Literally, "interpreting-man, envoy, orator," a term specially applied to individuals distinguished through eloquence, who act as envoy ~~and~~ mediators in affairs of vengeance, war, and peace.

kaido, but some time in 1934 he wrote saying he intended to re- 114
main in the Ainu country permanently.

In his letters he mentioned that he had recorded in the Ainu 114
language, and translated, a large number of songs and legends,
fifty invocations for the treatment of various ailments, many treat- 126
ments for difficult childbirth, and descriptions of ceremonies and
exorcism rites. He had also made notes on music and pastimes. He
took some films when interesting ceremonies were held in the
neighbourhood, and as he was not satisfied with these he engaged
a professional photographer to work under his direction, while
taking stills himself. Munro also mentioned that films were taken
of rites and ceremonies connected with fertility, pregnancy, par-
turition, spirit possession and the treatment of diseases; also of
ritual dancing and the Beer-straining and the Bear Ceremony. Un-
fortunately, only the last of these films reached this country. It is
now in the possession of the Royal Anthropological Institute,
where it was shown on the 10th January 1933. Recently, a positive
was made from the original negative, and was shown in Athens in
September 1961, at a meeting of the Comité International du Film
Ethnographique et Sociologique.

The Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rites. Munro 114
witnessed it several times but did not include a description for his 796
book. He did mention, however, that the part of it which is per-
formed inside the house is similar to the House-warming Ceremony,
and he sent a photograph (Pl. XIII,) of the *inau* set up for
the rite. For it, a bear cub was caught and tended with great care [776]
and reverence, and actually treated as the representative of the god,
or perhaps the god (*kamui*) itself. When grown to suitable size, the [825]
caged bear was killed ritually. It seemed a serious omission for a
book on Ainu religion to have no account of the most important
rite. I have therefore added an account made from the captions
Munro wrote for his film (Appendix II).

Munro also saw, on many occasions, the ritual with which a 114
hunted bear was killed, but neither is there a written account of [224]
this. There is a short description of the former rite by Batchelor,
in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 249.

Various adverse circumstances made the progress of work
slower than Munro expected. The rigorous climate and the hard
and lonely conditions of life at Nibutani told severely on his health.
Seligman raised money from private sources to enable him to carry [122]

114 had reliable information; he expected the existence of local variations.

114 The chief difference in interpretation is in regard to the spiritual
774 essence in vegetation. Munro states that Shiramba Kamui is the god of vegetation and that all vegetation derives *ramat* (spirit or
● 776 soul) from him. Trees have *ramat*, thus wood also has *ramat*. Some
824 kinds of wood have more spiritual power than others, hence are more sacred, and are specially valuable for certain purposes. Mr Watanabe states that every plant is the 'incarnation of a spirit, all beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *kamui*-spirits. . . . In the country of the *kamui* they take human form . . . and live as human beings.' When they visit the Ainu 'they disguise themselves as trees and grass, etc.'. The ceremony translated in this book as 'ritual dismissal' sends the spirit home to the land of the *kamui*. According to Mr Watanabe, the sacred objects made of vegetable
114 matter derive their virtue from the spirit of the individual plant
825 from which they are made, not from Shiramba Kamui.

With regard to the animal world, the difference in interpretation
776 is not so great. Munro does not suggest that the Ainu believe that all animals are *kamui*, but that there are good and bad animals of the same species, and this is specially noted of bears, snakes,
[782] foxes and hornets. Protection from bad animals can be obtained by appealing to their *kamui* chiefs, who can restrain their own bad subordinates.

114 Differences in spelling also occur, mostly in regard to labials, palatals and gutturals. Munro transliterates them as b, d and g
104 (Shiramba, *iomande* and *ongami*), Mr Watanabe as p, t and k. I have retained Munro's spelling, and for the sake of consistency have had to alter Mr Watanabe's. In support of this decision, I may mention that Nibutani is the official postal address for the village in which Munro lived.

114 It was Munro's intention to write a complete historical and cultural account of the Ainu, as well as descriptions of their technology. He called it *Ainu Past and Present*. However, after consideration of the material at our disposal, our committee came to the conclusion that it was best to include in this book only that part of his work which deals with ritual and belief and their effect on Ainu daily life. An article on the 'Building of an Ainu House', compiled by Lord Raglan from Munro's notes, was published in *Man*, Vol. LIX, No. 285, October 1959. It is hoped that other

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such a state a person, though breathing, is said to be *ramat sak* 774
(without soul). [828]

The Ainu speak of evil spirits as casting no shadow, but the [776]
reason is that they are themselves supposed to be shades of gloom.
I have not met anyone who believes that a person's shadow betokens *ramat*. [822]

We now come to the *kamui*, under which term are included not 771
only the deities of the Ainu pantheon but numerous independent 776
spirits of lesser degree. The term may also be applied to anything remarkable, incomprehensible or even exceptionally beautiful, as we might speak of 'divine beauty'. In its context the word can usually be understood without difficulty. Like human beings, *kamui* are loosely classified as good or beautiful (*pirika*), bad or hostile (*wen*), and mischievous but not always malevolent (*koshne*). There are also spirits which may be called insouciant *kamui*, neither good nor bad in themselves, which if properly treated may help the good *kamui* in their task of repelling or expelling the 'evil spirits' (as I shall translate *wen kamui*) which seek to harm the Ainu.

Apart from these evil spirits, it is a fixed belief that indifferent or even good *kamui* may take umbrage at inconsiderate treatment. The Ainu estimate the powers of the *kamui*, whether good or evil, largely by their own standards, but most elders are agreed that the thoughts of the *kamui* are not quite the same as human thoughts.
As my informant, the aged Rennuikesh Ekashi, observed: 'They [115]
have thoughts to themselves' (*yaikoshiram*). Formerly every care was taken not to hurt the feelings of good *kamui*. Deep reverence was paid to most of them and provocation was guarded against by
strict taboos. Even the deadly *kamui* of pestilence, and especially of [753]
smallpox, against which the good *kamui*, even when assisted by
magico-religious rites, were unable to operate successfully, were [789]
usually treated with respect; to speak of them as evil spirits was to evoke more wrath and frightfulness. These spirits were also known as punishing (*pakoro*) *kamui*, and in most places no attempt
was made to resist their attacks. They were merely pleaded with [782]
and placatory offerings were made to them. Evil *kamui* could as a rule be restrained by the good ones, backed by magical rites, but even so, inducements to quit sometimes were, and still are, held out to them. Certainly in the case of good *kamui* the rule was to treat them with reverence tinged with awe (*oripak*).

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774 In some degree this was extended to *ramat* in general. The *ramat*
782 of a snake or wasp, for example, is almost sure to harbour resent-
825 ment if the creature is killed unceremoniously. Death comes to all, and for *ramat* it simply means change of body or abode. But to be forced to leave without, as it were, receiving due notice, is apt to cause resentment. In times past the *ramat* of small animals and birds killed, or even found dead, was placated by some wrappings of sacred *inau* shavings, and animals ritually killed were sent off
[796] with great ceremony. Sacrifice other than the ritual dismissal (*kamui iomande*) of the bear is now seldom seen, but the Bear Ceremony is still characteristic of Ainu belief and ritual.[1]

● 776 To offend any kind of *kamui* involved the risk of retaliation by
787 spirit magic or actual spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a good as well as a bad spirit possession. (See Chapter IX.)

Kamui operate by possession or by the exercise of magic power.
774 There are words for different kinds of magical operation; one
776 closely associated with *ramat* but, according to my informants,
782 quite distinct from it, is *mawe*. In prayers soliciting help against
787 evil spirits I have found *mawe* to mean magic; it is a magic agency employed by *ramat*. Some *kamui* have more *ramat* than others and, like the Pacific *mana*, it is attributed to human beings in different measure. This is not so marked in the present degenerate culture, though a magnetic personality still enjoys some repute for specially efficient power in dealing with evil spirits.

756 Those who perform the rites are the *ekashi*. This word is a term of respect which as a rule means elder and will usually be so translated, though it is also used to mean grandfather and ancestor. The corresponding feminine term is *fuchi*, which means primarily grandmother, but also ancestress and goddess.

Batchelor speaks of the *ekashi* as shamans, and in a broad sense this is not incorrect.[2] The rites which they perform, and the nature

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[776] [825] [1] The Ainu believed that every deity lived in the country of deities, with a mode of life similar to that of the Ainu, and had human form. When a deity visited the Ainu, it dressed appropriately. For example, Kim-un Kamui, Deity of the High Mountains, put on the skin of a bear. When animals which embodied particular deities were caught by the Ainu, the spirits were sent home with the prescribed ceremonies; among those so sent home were the bear, the salmon, the owl, and, in some localities, the seal, the *sirhap* and the *sisam*. The bear, the owl and the eagle were kept and killed ritually.—H.W.

[787] [2] In no rite described by Munro does an *ekashi* become possessed by a spirit. Women mediums called *tusu*, possessed by *kamui*, diagnose diseases which are then treated by the *ekashi* Chapter IX, Exorcism). Among the photographs

of the materials employed therein may be regarded as more efficacious 756
than mere supplications of the good *kamui*, but they never
perform rites without previously making supplication. Divination [787]
(*esaman-ki*) by means of an otter's head is also well known. Sorcery [789]
was certainly practised by some elders, but sometimes merely for
protection, and I am told that those who used it for evil ends were [754]
ostracized.[1] A sorcerer at Mukawa maintained that he had no evil
powers himself but that he employed evil spirits (*wen kamui*). He
carried a bone which had been used by his great-grandfather, to
protect himself against these spirits.

I have found no evidence that evil spirits are worshipped by the 771
Ainu, though, as stated by Batchelor,[2] sometimes they are cajoled
and placated as a means of getting rid of them.[3] It is possible that 776
in former times an isolated Ainu, practising sorcery, worshipped [782]
the evil spirits, but having witnessed many of the rites directed
against such spirits, and being familiar with the sentiments uttered
in prayers against them, I cannot believe that anything like demon
worship was ever general in Ainu religion. All the elders whom I
have interrogated emphatically deny it. Many Ainu still believe
that most of the ills and ailments of life are due to evil spirits, and
what remains of active religion is chiefly concerned with means for
repelling or expelling them.

While a rigid classification of *kamui*, recognized as such by the Ainu, is not feasible, some arrangement will aid description. It need hardly be said that in polytheistic religions there is much latitude in choosing gods for general, as well as for special help, so

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sent by Munro is one of a flat Siberian-type drum, labelled 'A Shaman's drum, used in exorcism rites in Sakhalin'. But no further information or comment is given.—B.Z.S.

[1] It is said that there were two kinds of sorcery among the Ainu, *onitak* which aimed at killing people and *ponitak* which aimed at causing harm or trouble. The details of these sorceries are unknown, but they are said to have consisted of phrases used originally by evil deities. *Ponitak* was known by a few old men who used it to harm or hypnotize people, as well as game such as the bear and seal, but it was believed to react adversely upon the sorcerers and their relatives. It was not allowed in public, and good men were afraid of knowing anything about it (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. 2, p. 105, The Imperial Academy of Japan, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, *Ainus*, Vol. I, pp. 239–52.

[3] It is said that in the Saru basin an evil deity called Chikapipenta-ekashi amba Kamui was formerly besought in prayer to hypnotize enemies during a night attack, then a frequent occurrence and that his worship, with offerings of *inau*, etc. continued till quite recent times (Natori, *Hoppo-Bunka*, No. 4, pp. 40–1).—H.W.

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long as this does not reflect upon the standing of any god worshipped by the community in general. Though there are some places where such preference is marked, in no place visited by me is the ancestral cult with its concomitant worship of the hearth spirit neglected for other *kamui*. The following classification is proposed:

1. Remote and traditional *kamui*.
2. Familiar or accessible and trustworthy *kamui*.
3. Subsidiary *kamui*.
4. Theriomorphic *kamui*.
5. Spirit helpers and personal *kamui*.
6. Mischievous and malicious *kamui*.
7. *Kamui* of pestilence.
8. Things of unutterable horror.

Among the *kamui* are certain gods associated with the firmament. The chief of these is Kando-koro Kamui, Possessor of the Sky, who deputed Moshiri-kara Kamui to prepare the world, that is to say the land of the Ainu. Batchelor regards the existence of this high god as proof that the Ainu fell into polytheism from a pristine monotheism, though still professing belief in the 'one true God'. He tells us that this 'God of gods' is the 'Creator and Possessor of Heaven', and that the Ainu gave him the name of Pase-Kamui. He states that Pase-Kamui may be addressed also as Kotan-kara Kamui, Moshiri-kara Kamui and Kando-koro Kamui. He concludes:

> Thus far then, we have reached a real basis for two articles of Ainu belief, viz.
>
> (*a*) I believe in one supreme God, the Creator of all worlds and places, who is the Possessor of Heaven, whom we call *Pase Kamui*, 'The true God' . . .
>
> (*b*) I believe also in the existence of a multitude of inferior deities (*kamui*), all subject to this one Creator, who are His servants, who receive their life and power from Him, and who act and govern the world under Him.[1]

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[1] Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 140. It should be noted that *kara*, when used in compound names, means 'maker' or 'creator', and *koro* means 'owner' or 'possessor'. Except in the case of Moshiri-kara Kamui Munro does not use the particle *kara*. But Mr Watanabe collates Kotan-kara Kamui with A-e-oina Kamui as a creator, thus following Batchelor's interpretation. It seems that the authorities quoted by Mr Watanabe also followed

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In presenting Pase-Kamui as the 'one true God' of Ainu belief, 771
Batchelor has, it seems to me, in all sincerity adapted Ainu beliefs 776
to his own, and it is probable that some Ainu, wishing to please him, echoed some of his religious teaching. The word *pase* means weighty or important. During my long residence at Nibutani I observed many ceremonies and discussed matters of belief with many elders of good standing, and was always told that there are many *pase-kamui*, of whom Kando-koro Kamui is one. So far as I know he gets no special worship anywhere, but whether or not there is any exception to this it is safe to say that the term *pase-kamui* is generally applied as an indication of reverence to at least a dozen *kamui*, and is never a name for one alone.

In the Saru and Mukawa districts, embracing a wide area, the 771
following are recognized as *pase-kamui* by most elders, though not 776
all are positive about every one in the list: Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-
koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui, Wakka-ush 184
Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui, Kotan-koro Kamui, Shinrit Kamui, Kanna Kamui, Kenru Katkimat, Chup Kamui, Imosh Kamui, and the important theriomorphic kamui Kim-un Kamui or Metot-ush Kamui (the Bear Kamui), Rep-un Kamui, Kinashut Kamui, Korokeu Kamui and Shitumbe Kamui.

In the north, Kanna Kamui, the thunder god, is given a special
inau. There is an old saying that he fertilizes the soil, and this [821]
belief may be due to the traditional identification of lightning with the serpent.

Storm gods are not worshipped. Gales from the east and south 771
are believed to be sent by evil spirits, but, curiously, wind from 776
the north is good. An old poem, quoted in full in *Man*, Mar. 1938,[1]
seems to praise the north wind for having brought the ships of [583]
their ancestors to the present abode of the Ainu.

The sun, Chup Kamui (shining thing), formerly received much 771
more worship than now, though the moon (darkness-shining, 776
kunna-chup, night-shining, *an-chup*, or *tombe*[2]) as humble wife of
the sun, appears to have been ignored. Many years ago, at Oshoro 821
on the west coast of Hokkaido, I photographed and drew to scale

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Batchelor. Munro does not mention Kotan-kara Kamui, but frequently refers to Kotan-koro Kamui, the Eagle-Owl Kamui. The importance of the cult of the Eagle Owl is referred to in Chapter XII, p. 153.—B.Z.S. [192]

[1] Munro, *Yaikurehcarepa: an Old Ainu Oration*, *Man*, March 1938, No. 33.

[2] Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 1905.

● 776 a very large stone circle, or rather oval, which may have been
821 connected with solar worship. In most districts the sacred window
[342] is still oriented to the rising sun. Through it the *kamui* communicate
with the revered spirit of the hearth, Kamui Fuchi, who is supreme
over the Ancestral Host. Until recently no one was supposed to
[533] cross the rays of sunshine visiting the hearth. An old song, handed
down from his ancestors to the aged Rennuikesh, praises the
[782] arrows of light of Rikoma Kamui, the God on High. In the north
an *inau*, set up as an offering to the sun, bears an incised outline
[778] of its orb. In the south, on rare festival occasions, an *inau* such as
is offered only to *kamui* of the highest standing is set up to the
sun, and he is given libations and praise. A few elders still
salute the sun, but I am told that this was formerly considered
necessary.

[825] There is some evidence that stars were associated with *kamui*; at
[796] the great festival when a bear is killed ritually the name of a star or
star group connected with the Bear constellation is given to the
spirit of the slain bear—Chinukara-guru (Visible Person). I am
told that formerly some elders were versed in star lore, but few
names have been recorded. The Milky Way is Pet Noka (River
Likeness), which corresponds to the Japanese 'River of Heaven'.
Among the sacred treasures (*ikoro*) of the Ainu are small replicas
[778] of quivers bearing representations of the sun and stars, and some-
times of the moon. These occupied a sacred position on the north
or north-east of the dwelling, and were regarded as exercising
some mysterious talismanic influence. Sometimes the heavenly
bodies were of inlaid copper foil and were called 'shining things'
(*tombe*), though they were scrupulously left unburnished lest they
lost the virtue left by 'the touch of a vanished hand', now with the
Ancestral Host.

[789] I am told by Nisukrek-guru that in the event of an untoward
happening from above, such as a landslip or heavy fall of volcanic
ash, Nochiu-pe-ran Guru (Star-descending Person) was besought
to make it cease.

771 A-e-oina Kamui, sometimes called Oina Kamui for short, must
776 be included among the high gods. Batchelor has pointed out that
oina refers to old lore and that the name of this deity implies a
teacher, but it is questionable whether he is right in concluding
that 'Aioina was some great person who in very ancient times acted
as instructor to these people'. There are various myths about his

descent from the sky with his spear of magic mugwort which no 771
enemy could withstand.[1] Perhaps identical with him is Okikurumi
Kamui, who shares most of his mythical achievements as pristine 776 ●
teacher of the arts of life, and is the hero of legendary fights against
evil spirits and wicked men. The name Okikurumi has been thought
to be of Japanese origin, but need not be. Tales about both describe
them as wrapped in a cloud of smoke or mist in which they are
usually invisible but which sometimes opens for a moment to show
a person with tongues of flame rising to his sword belt. This refers
to a myth of origin from Kamui Fuchi, goddess of fire. The flames
do not burn, but merely indicate the virtue of the *kamui*. Whatever
name be assigned to him he is not, so far as I know, worshipped as
an ancestor, though venerated as a teacher and occasionally offered
inau and libations at big celebrations. The various myths of origin [782]
are not quite consistent, but all are agreed that he returned to the
sky after his task of teaching the Ainu was accomplished. One of
the finest of Ainu dances, performed only by women, represents [535]
the coming of A-e-oina Kamui. With arms raised high and grace- [533]
fully waving they sing—'*Hi eranna, Kamui eranna. Hi eranna,
to-o-eranna*': 'Yes, he descends, the god descends. Yes, he
descends, yonder he descends.'

It should be added that most of the *pase kamui* are believed to
have descended from the sky and will return there in fullness
of time, but these beliefs are nebulous, and vary from place to
place. The only trace of actual star worship I have found is that at [821]
the festival of Falling Tears there is secret worship of four deities
and among them is one called Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat,
which means 'the woman above the high clouds or above the way
of the clouds, divine wife'. I have not ascertained whether this
refers to a star or a constellation.

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[1] According to one myth he came down to Ainu-land when Kotan-kara Kamui created it (Kintaichi, *Study of the Ainu*, p. 211), and according to another he is identical with Kotan-kara Kamui (for Kotan-kara see footnote p. 12). In three or four versions of his myth he is said to have been born on earth to the elm-tree spirit, his father being some cosmic phenomenon such as the sun or thunder (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*).—H.W.

II

THE KAMUI

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IN the last chapter we discussed *kamui* in general and made special reference to the remote *kamui*—those believed to dwell in the sky. We now come to the second class of *kamui*—those regarded as accessible and trustworthy. The nominal chief of these terrestrial *kamui* is Shiramba Kamui, Upholder of the World. He is the god of vegetation, and though his *ramat* is believed to be distributed in trees which provide houses, utensils, implements and firewood, particularly oaks, it is also present in grain, herbs, vegetables and grasses, and is especially potent in the aconite (*surugu*). The possession of *ramat* is believed to endow trees and plants with feelings akin to those of men.[1] When I asked an Ainu who wished to plant a small tree in my garden whether it should have manure, he exclaimed: 'No, no, it would be too astonished.' Shiramba Kamui is especially revered as giver of the timber of

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[1] Mr Watanabe differs from Munro in certain interpretations of Ainu beliefs (see footnote re *kara*, Chapter II, p. 12). He states that the Ainu recognize the existence of a spirit in every plant, and that Shiramba Kamui is the Chief of the plants. He quotes: 'For the Ainu, trees and grass do not mean plants, at least in our sense of the word. According to the Ainu idea, beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *Kamui*-spirits, as well as trees and grass. In the country of *kamui* they take human forms and live the same mode of life as that of human beings, the Ainu. They have their families as well as villages' (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. I, pp. 13–14).

He adds: 'Such spirits, when visiting the Ainu country, disguise themselves and take the form of concrete objects such as trees and grass. In other words, every individual plant is nothing but an incarnation of a spirit which is invisible and believed to take a human form in its home country. In consequence, a plant itself is sometimes called by a name with such a suffix as *-kamui*, or *-fuchi*.'—B.Z.S.

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. 776
His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul 774
nusa (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window. 824 [778]

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu
pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress[1] and ruler of all 776
departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the 775
hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares [774]
with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro
Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui*
is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer [782]
or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She
Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its
ramat is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly [842]
Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual
intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is 776
commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate
it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's 775
presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it 354
is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest.
She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for
her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within [783]
the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth,
and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge [844]
there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to 776
make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she [292]
descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

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[1] *Ekashi*, *Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two [192]
words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated
as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a [769]
deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to
imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women,
Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes [114]
Munro's use of *ekashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

•776 account she came forth from an elm-tree impregnated by Kando-
koro Kamui, also called Rikun Kando Kamui, the Possessor of the
[372] Heavens. A third and common account makes her emerge from the
fire-drill, and according to a variant of this both Kamui Fuchi and
[774] Kinashut Kamui derive from the fire-drill. Because of her close
association with wood, a myth derives her *ramat* from the spirit
of vegetation.

As I understand it, Kamui Fuchi is the judge who punishes any misconduct, ritual or ethical, in this life by visiting upon the offender some misfortune or withdrawing her protection against evil spirits. I have been unable to confirm Batchelor's statement that she is concerned with a final 'day of judgment' by 'the great judge of all'.

Nusa-koro Kamui is held in high esteem, equal or nearly equal to that of Kamui Fuchi, who, according to some accounts, is his sister. But he is appealed to less frequently.

776 As will be described later, all *pase* (important or weighty) *kamui*
778 have their own assigned positions where *inau* are placed for them.
That of Kamui Fuchi is the hearth, and is the most revered of all.
The next best place is reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui; it is outside
the sacred window and to the left of it. At Nibutani, where the
window faces east, it is to the north-east. These sacred places, or
rather the *inau* set up there, contain *ramat* of their respective *kamui*.

776 The name Nusa-koro Kamui[1] is really an epithet, as are nearly
[552] all titles of *kamui* and of persons. Even the most sacred names,
which may only be uttered on serious occasions and then *sotto voce*,
are epithets. In prayers he is addressed as Kotan-koresu (village
raising) Kamui.

[769] The nature of Nusa-koro Kamui is somewhat mysterious, but
investigation reveals a close connection with ancestor worship and
[795] of traces of a snake cult. Elders are buried near his *nusa*, and the
[778] place selected for libations and offerings to the dead, which are
never omitted at any *kamui nomi* (festal service) to the gods, is
[782] nearby. In this ritual, offerings to Nusa-koro Kamui, like offerings
to the dead, are carried out through the west door instead of being
passed through the east window as is done for all other *kamui*.

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[114] [1] According to Munro Nusa-koro Kamui is masculine, but Mr Watanabe says that this deity is feminine, the sister of Kamui Fuchi, and is charged with the feeding of the Ainu. He also says that Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Kinashut Kamui are siblings of Nusa-koro Kamui.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

Closely associated with this deity is Kinashut Kamui, the spirit 776
chief of the snakes, whom we have just mentioned in connection 825
with Kamui Fuchi. Christian Ainu may, as Batchelor suggests,
have expressed the view that the snake is the source of all evil, but
it is not the view of the heathen Ainu. Kinashut Kamui is usually
accepted as a *pase kamui* (weighty, or important *kamui*); he is
identified by some elders with Nusa-koro Kamui, and by others
is regarded as his coadjutor or his brother. Like him he is some- [782]
times addressed as Kamui Ekashi (Sacred Ancestor), and like him [789]
he may, as protector of the village precincts, be invoked to ward
off a typhoid epidemic.[1] As we shall see later, his image in snake
form is used in various rites of exorcism.

In prayer for succour, in illness or other troubles, the first to be 776
besought is, as always, Kamui Fuchi, and the next Nusa-koro 782
Kamui. In many cases Kinashut Kamui is also besought with the
consent of his 'co-dweller'. In difficult childbirth and various
diseases Kinashut Kamui is invoked as a healing deity, and is then
addressed as Shiturupakpe Kamui Ekashi.

The meaning of the word *kinashut* is uncertain, but living snakes 776
are often referred to as Kinashut Kamui. Snakes are said to be 825
rancorous and revengeful when killed or injured, even accidentally, [774]
and their *ramat*, considered evil, is then apt to take malicious [787]
possession of people. In such cases the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui
himself is solicited to oust the intruder.

In most parts of the Hokkaido Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut [782]
Kamui share a *nusa* called the chaff-thrown (*muru-kuta*) *nusa* be- [778]
cause the husks of millet are thrown there and form a heap. The
millet, with other food, is kept in an elevated storehouse. Snakes
breed in the heap and frequent the storehouse where rats breed,
and they eat the young rats. This may have contributed to the
reluctance to kill snakes, but there are deeper causes, and belief
in their mysterious powers includes a phallic element. I have not [842]
found a belief that women are fertilized by snakes when passing
graves, but young women were cautioned not to sleep while on the
hills lest they became pregnant by a snake.

A full description of the different *inau* and their arrangement in 776 778 782

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[1] In a note on the treatment of disease, received only in 1960, Munro states
that this title: Kotan koresu, Moshiri koresu, Kamui Ekashi, 'Divine ancestor
who rears the *kotan*', is a name too sacred for ordinary use and is invoked only [552]
in prayer to Kinashut Kamui in dire necessity. A snake skin found in the granary
is regarded as a talisman.—B.Z.S.

776 the *nusa* along the *inau* fences outside the east window will be given 782 in the next chapter. Here it must be noted that the *nusa* referred 778 to above stands apart from the others. The soul *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui comes next, and then the *nusa* of a feminine deity of the chase whose epithet is Hash-inau-uk Kamui, 'she who takes the 776 *hash* [bush] *inau*'. Some elders have an esoteric name for this deity based on an old and interesting myth in which she appears as [773] Nisosange Mat, the woman descended from the *niso*, that is the underpiece of the wooden fire-drill. By the seashore she performs some [372] protective function in connection with fishing, but inland, as a relative and assistant of Shiramba Kamui, she gives aid against the prowling evil spirits of the woods and hills. She not only protects [842] the hunter but guides him to success in the chase. She is sometimes solicited by barren women and is said to have appeared in visions [787] with an infant on her back.

Next to her *nusa*, and often continuous with it, is a fence along [782] which are arranged *inau* offered to various *kamui*, and which is [778] called *inau chipa*. These *kamui* will be referred to when we come to the ceremony of the house-warming but mention should be made here of Wakka-ush Kamui, also called Pet-orun (in the river) Kamui, who resides in or pervades water. This deity, usually [782] regarded as male but sometimes as female, receives almost the same *inau* as Nusa-koro Kamui, and like him is associated with [769] ancestor worship. A female manifestation of Wakka-ush Kamui is [778] Nai-orun Kamui, who presides over springs and pools which appear in small valleys. Like Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut [844] Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui is besought in difficult childbirth. All the above *kamui* are usually revered as *pase kamui*.

There are a number of water spirits, regarded as assistants to or 776 representatives of Wakka-ush Kamui, who occupy special positions 823 in the river. Chiu-rape Guru and his spouse Chiu-rape Mat control the undercurrent, and Chi-wash Kamui the waters at the mouth of the river. Also esteemed are Chu-roro Guru (where the river flows deeply above rapids), Pan-utka-ush Guru (in the rapids), Chiurang Guru (in the waterfall), Hattar-koro Kamui (in the greatest depths), Ru-esan-koro Guru (in the lower reaches), and Chiwashkoro Kamui (who possesses the surf (wash) at a river mouth). Though the Ainu wash but little they use much water in ritual, 776 and this may explain the multiplicity of water spirits.

[782] We now come to the third class of *kamui* which I have called

subsidiary *kamui*, and which are invoked after prayer to Kamui Fuchi and (often) Nusa-koro Kamui. 776 [782]

Apa-sam (beside the entrance) Kamui does sentry duty on both sides of the door, keeping out evil spirits. Though not high ranking he is important, and receives offerings at certain ceremonies. This [782] *kamui* is said to be both male and female and may be regarded as either a dual *kamui* or a pair.

Outside the house, on the south and west respectively, are the seats of two *kamui* who are said to be servants of Kamui Fuchi. One is Mintara-koro (possessor of the precincts) Kamui, who guards the approaches to the house. Some Ainu of my acquaintance say that this is also a pair of *kamui*. In most areas this *kamui* still plays a part, though in the north I was told that the guarding is done only by the house dog.

The second is Ru-koro Kamui, the *kamui* of the male privy (the [514] female privy has no *kamui*) who is also regarded by some as a pair of spirits. He is associated with ideas of expulsion and evacuation and is regarded as powerful.[1] This may be because odours keep [789] off evil spirits; rank-smelling herbs are held to be magically effective for this purpose.

It may be noted that although *pase kamui* and those represented in effigy are mostly unisexual, the lower-ranking spirits, including evil spirits, are usually epicene, or dual spirits of opposite sex.

The fourth class of *kamui* are the theriomorphic *kamui*. All 776 animals have *ramat* but not all are *kamui*. Some of the animal 825 *kamui* are good and others bad, and there are Ainu who profess to be able to distinguish those of the same species by some difference of colour or marking. Thus, a black fox (Shitumbe Kamui) is nearly always good but has a special earmark if entirely reliable. Similarly, a red fox is usually unreliable, but certain features are reassuring. Animal *kamui* whether good or bad can take human or other forms; this is called *ish-iri katande* (putting on body shape). In the tales known as *uebekere* bears, wolves, foxes and other animals change shape and perform wonderful feats.

There are evil bears (*wen-yuk*), man-eaters, and others of wrathful disposition who attack men savagely in the wilds. They are evil

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[1] Ru-koro Kamui is invoked to exercise his powers of expulsion. The idea of the magical quality of faeces themselves, as of hair, nails and body dirt, if present at all, is not accentuated.—B.Z.S.

776 825 spirits in the guise of bears and are recognizable as such by their footprints. But the chief spirit of the bears and the chief spirit of snakes are benevolent deities; animals are sometimes believed to be incarnations of these *pase kamui*. It is said that the wolf and fox were killed ritually in the old days, so they also may have been regarded as *kamui*.

Because birds fly above the earth and sometimes disappear mysteriously for a season they are credited with various powers, and some are held in high veneration. The eagle owl is worshipped to a greater or lesser extent in all the places I visited. At Mokoto in the north it had a distinguished position on festival occasions between the *inau* of Moshiri-kara Kamui, Maker of the World, and Wakka-ush Kamui, Spirit of the Waters. It is known from north to south as Kotan-koro Kamui, Possessor of the Village, though other names are also given to it.

Three other bird-gods are worshipped at Mokoto: the great black woodpecker who chips out and protects boats, the spotted kingfisher (Satchini Kamui) who protects fish, and the crow, known as Pashkuru Kamui. The depredations of the crow are tolerated; one reason given is that it is said to have saved the sun from being swallowed by a ferocious evil spirit by pecking the monster's tongue till it disgorged its prey. Another reason is that on one occasion when some Ainu were starving, crows guided them to a stranded whale. [796] Formerly, the crow and some other important birds were killed ritually, as a young bear still is. I am [182] told that the practice of killing birds ritually has not altogether died out, but I have not been able to see an example of it.

Like human beings, some birds are better disposed than others and some are essentially good. The best, Kesorap Kamui, of glorious plumage and pitying heart is mythical, and so is the worst, Huri or Furi, said to have been a huge bird which lived in a cave [787] and devoured human beings. There are birds of good and evil omen, and birds which make it their duty to give timely warning of impending trouble. The warning is usually heard in the darkness, as is that of the black fox. If the source is unrecognized it is considered most uncanny and said to be that of Kunne-rek Guru (Voice-in-the-dark Person).

Other theriomorphic *kamui* which should be mentioned include the spider, Yooshkep Kamui, said also to be called Kamui Tunchihi and to be a divine assistant of Nusu-koro Kamui. By loose

By loose

776 analogy the long claw and net coming forth from the body form a 825 combination capable of instilling confidence in women during 844 difficult labour. And the spirit of a fresh-water crab, called Ametanne Mat, whose 'metal' (hard) claws are believed able to extract the baby, is frequently invoked in childbirth after prayer to Nusakoro Kamui. Finally we may mention Hai-o-Pira Kamui, who receives *inau* and libations from many Ainu in this district. It is 776 the 'sword' of the swordfish (*pirikap*), a formidable monster up 825 to twelve feet long, the harpooning of which is one of the most exciting episodes in the marine life of the Ainu.

The fifth class, spirit helpers and personal *kamui*, includes the 776 skulls of certain *kamui* in animal form. These may be mammals, 778 birds or turtles. The skulls are smoked, cleaned and partly wrapped 825 in curled shavings (*inau kike*), which are also stuffed into the cranial cavity, eye sockets and mouth. The shavings must be cut from a fresh branch of willow, the tree of life, and Kamui Fuchi must be invoked to give efficacy to the *ramat* of the shavings. These objects are called *shiratki kamui*[1] and act as spirit protectors (*epungine kamui*). They may be hung in the house on the north wall or stored in boxes, and may be carried on a journey to give protection to the traveller. It is most important that they should not be contaminated by evil spirits. Should the householder or some elder have an [787] ominous dream which throws suspicion on a *shiratki kamui* it must be dismantled and discarded. The same precaution is taken with other artificial objects, *inau* or effigies made to retain *ramat*. The bad omen is taken as a warning from Kamui Fuchi.

For *shiratki kamui* the skull of a good fox is favoured. This is useful for augury as well as protection. The lower jaw is carefully [782] detached, Kamui Fuchi is invoked, and the skull is then placed on the head of an elder. Should it fall teeth uppermost when the head is inclined it means 'yes', otherwise 'no'. Many variants of this simple expedient are employed by Ainu. The libation and prayer [413] stick, commonly spoken of by Europeans as a moustache-lifter, is [774] full of *ramat* and is employed in the same manner.

In this district people are too much in awe of the eagle owl to use it as *shiratki kamui*, but two sea-birds, one large and the other small, both called *ibe-rusi chikap*, food-desire birds, are used. So

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[1] In the Saru Basin, which was Munro's main field, Shiratki Kamui is said to be the deity of the albatross. The fox is called Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui.—H.W.

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778 825 is the snipe, which is regarded as a specialist in ear complaints, and the head of a turtle, though this is not easy to obtain.

Shiratki kamui may be seen by anyone, but there is a class of similar objects which would lose their virtue if seen by other than the elder or his grown-up eldest son if the latter be worthy. They are called *chikoshinninup* or *akoshinninup*. Most valued for this purpose were the skulls of the white fox and the ermine, the former now never, and the latter rarely, seen in Hokkaido. The skin is not removed from the head, which is folded over it. The living ermine is spoken of in old legends as the chief animal helper of man, enabling him to get food and children and warning him against enemies and hostile spirits.

778 Other treasured objects were stones admired for their beauty or some other reason. So long as no one else knew of them they could be gloated over in secret, yielding assurance of protection and success.

776 Invisible spirit helpers, operating without embodiment of any kind, go under various names but their functions are similar. *Kashikamui* and *seremak* are believed to bestow health and good luck generally. *Kasanip*, believed to hover round the top and back of the head, functions somewhat similarly to spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a common belief that a man has a female and a woman a male *kasanip*.[1] Some elders think that *kasanip* are not entirely reliable, and the same applies to *osoyunbe*, who may be helpful or harmful.

[775] [774] Several elders have assured me that at death the good *turenbe* accompanies the soul to the ancestral land, while the bad returns to its source, but this seems to be a matter of opinion.

Among occasional helpers are the water nymphs (*mintuchi*). They are unreliable and occasionally dangerous, but are sometimes amenable to orders from *pase kamui*, transmitted through elders and backed by suitable rewards. There are also spirits of trees which, as agents of Shiramba Kamui, are besought for the cure of disease.

776 789 It is said that some elders were able in moments of peril to summon spirits not quite so innocent, using what is called *upashkuma itak*, talk from traditional lore. This had the force of a spell, and though it is denied that it was the same as the 'little talk' of

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[1] Cf. the theory of the Anima and Animus, Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, Part II, Chapter II, 1928.—B.Z.S.

776 [789]

'dark magic', it was somewhat near it. The difference, I was told, was that it was done with the approval of good *kamui* and spoken aloud. But such agencies are different from companion spirits or 'familiars', even if entitled to be called spirit helpers on occasion.

The sixth class consists of mischievous and malicious *kamui*. The Ainu have names for many malicious and malignant spirits that haunt the wilds. Threatening spirits lurk in the woods, crags, gullies, marshes and in the pools and eddies of rivers. There are grades of dangerous spirits, from *koshne* which may be malicious or merely mischievous to those which are definitely 'hard' or stubborn (*nitue*) or evil (*wen*). They are also called *ewendep*, evil things, but so are wicked men. *Koshne kamui* are feared because they are unreliable. For instance the water nymphs (*mintuchi*), though included above among the occasional spirit helpers, and said in well-known tales of the past to have saved Ainu from evil spirits, are also regarded as *koshne kamui* because they (or their eponym) were believed to demand a yearly victim by drowning. So also the *koshimbu*, believed to come from either the sea or the mountains, may induce spirit possession. This is said to be always evil when it comes from the mountains, but sometimes favourable when from the sea. These spirits are said in old traditions (*yukara*) to have appeared in visible form as well as in dreams, but they are never seen now.

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Even some *kamui* who would seem to deserve Batchelor's labels of Satan, Abaddon, etc., are not always regarded as utterly bad. Thus Pauchi Kamui, who is supposed to hail from the Willow-soul River (Susu-ram Pet) in High Heaven (Rikun Kando) and is held responsible for gastralgia, food poisoning, insanity, and epidemics of frenzied dancing, seems as bad as could be, but is not regarded by all Ainu as absolutely heartless.

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The seventh class, the *kamui* of pestilence, are all held to be malignant, but one was so overwhelmingly frightful that no Ainu dared to call it an evil spirit, just as none dared to call their sword-bearing masters cruel. The smallpox, which ravaged the villages, was called Pakoro (punishing) Kamui and even Oripak (awe-inspiring) Kamui. While magico-religious measures are still taken to repel the evil spirits of other epidemics, one hears little of such measures being taken against smallpox. Vaccination and sanitation have now almost extinguished this scourge.

THE KAMUI

776 825 In the eighth class I have included certain things of unutterable horror, and of these the most noteworthy is the harmless caterpillar known as *ashtoma ikombap*. *Ashtoma* means dread, and though I cannot say that all Ainu regard it with fear and repulsion, it is widely regarded as the materialization of Moshiri-Shinnai-sam, 'world-abnormal-alongside', implying intruding aliens in Ainu-land, and arouses uncanny dread and detestation. There is no fear of caterpillars in general, and it seems possible that the Ainu have [186] come to symbolize in this caterpillar their fear and hatred of the Japanese, by whom they were so long oppressed and treated with contempt. The Japanese are still called Shisam and Shamo or Samo, names apparently connected with Shinnai-sam.[1] It is not only the old people who feel this repulsion for the dreaded caterpillar; young and educated Ainu have told me that the sight of it causes an involuntary shiver—a feeling doubtless inculcated in childhood by the behaviour of their elders. In spite of this, I have never come across any Ainu who feared evil possession (*wen turenbe*) by *ashtoma ikombap*.

539 776 824 NOTE.—The following Ainu folk tale, translated by Mr Watanabe from Chiri's *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. I, p. 201, may be included in this chapter, as it gives some idea of the Ainu attitude to vegetation and the spirit world.—(B.Z.S.)

'You there, the chief of Ruashipet, listen to what I say. We are neither human beings nor evil deities. I remind you, I am the head of *trep* (plant) and here is the head of *pukusa* (wild garlic). In ancient times, when the deity of creation created the world, he prepared nuts, leaves, roots and the like, all over fields and hills on the surface of the world, in order to let the Ainu eat them. Nevertheless, they do not know that most of them are edible. Above all, *pukusa* and *trep* ought to be the core of human food—but no one collects them. Every year they blossom in vain and disappear on the fields and hills of the human world: but (I remind you) their souls, though crying, do go back to the land of *kamui*. I am sad that they return to earth in vain, and ardently wish to tell the Ainu that both *pukusa* and *trep* are edible things, wishing we may be worshipped as deities on that account, so that we may be eaten. I came here from the east to the Ainu country, bringing the chief of *pukusa*, while disguising ourselves as Ainu women. But human beings are so

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[1] See *infra*, Chapter IX, p. 108.

foolish, they regard our foods as dirty and do not even try to eat us. It is 539
for that reason we got angry and came to you. But now we determine 776 ●
that if you do not eat of the food we offer, we will resign ourselves to do 824
no more, but withdraw to the country of deities.'

III

THE INAU

774 RAMAT is to be regarded as power or purposive ability.
824 Whether generalized as active or quiescent power or re-
778 garded as the attribute of an individual spirit, it is always
credited with some degree of conation. This may be equal to that
of man but is less in animals and plants. Even moulds and lichens
possess a small quantity of *ramat*. Wood is specially credited with
● [776] *ramat* from the great soul or spirit of Shiramba Kamui. To the
Ainu nothing is more effective for protection against evil and the
promotion of welfare than living wood. Hence the importance of
[782] the *inau* with their beautiful curls shaven from living wood. When
they take shape at the touch of a knife in an expert hand they seem
instinct with life.

774 *Ramat* is embodied in the various types of *inau* appropriate to
782 each of the high *kamui*, who are invoked and given service at all
778 ritual celebrations. These have mostly come under my direct
observation and study, and those I describe may, I think, be
accepted as representative. Should it be thought that I give too
many details, I must plead that I have tried to record material
which if not now recorded will be lost, as it is rapidly vanishing.

778 *Inau* have been described as whittled sticks, but they are very
782 much more. They are mostly solid stems of wood which, according
to thickness, resemble batons or wands. Early in this century I
[532] came across positive evidence that many *inau* are stylized effigies
of human beings and that they originated as receptacles for ances-
tral *ramat*. Whether they were ever substitutes for human sacrifice
is an open question, but I am disposed to think that some are, at

any rate, substitutes for the clay figures which occur in sites of the 782
neolithic Ainu. 778

Many *inau* embody ancestral *ramat*, and all are credited with [769] superhuman power of some kind, whether derived from the ancestors or from the spiritual potency of impressive natural phenomena. Even in the latter case, whether from a wish to flatter or from assimilation to the predominant ancestor worship, prayers to nature spirits such as Shiramba Kamui or Wakka-ush Kamui often include the term Kamui Ekashi (Spirit Ancestor).

The supernatural power vaguely but confidently attributed to *inau* is extended to the detached curled shavings (*inau kike*) which, if not actually representing hair or garments, are often thought of as such, and are largely used for protective purposes.

Inau are also regarded as messengers (*shongo-koro guru*) or intermediaries between the Ainu and the *kamui* or, perhaps more accurately, between the *kamui* themselves. Kamui Fuchi, whose theophany is living fire on the hearth, may be supplicated with or without offerings of *inau*, but she is usually looked upon in this and other southern districts of Hokkaido as the mediator between gods and men. Many elders maintain that the *inau*, libations and food assigned to other *kamui* come to them through Kamui Fuchi.[1]

Inau are by far the most acceptable offerings to good *kamui*. Formerly alcoholic drink was offered only on special occasions, including communal festivals, but *inau* were, and still are, offered at any time when soliciting or thanking spirit powers.[2] An old revered instruction (*upashkoma*) says that *inau* beautify the land and gratify the gods. Some of them are really beautiful when made by experts. The use of the left hand in making them is forbidden, as displeasing to the *kamui*. *Inau* are never made or offered during [764] funeral rites.

Inau were formerly amassed out of doors at the locations set apart for different *kamui*. In particular, the winged (*shutu*) *inau*,

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[1] These ideas are also found in the Topakchi region in the north-east. It was [184] believed that the rituals and prayers were not understood by the deities for whom they were performed until they had been explained by Kamui Fuchi. They then accepted the offerings of *inau*.—H.W.

[2] *Inau* were divided into two categories: *kamui-nomi inau* which were offered [726] to the deities, and *Shimurapa inau* which were offered to the ancestors on the [769] occasion of the ancestral cults. At every *kamui-nomi* (ritual for deities) *inau* were the most important and essential offerings, and they were never offered without due performance of the ritual.—H.W.

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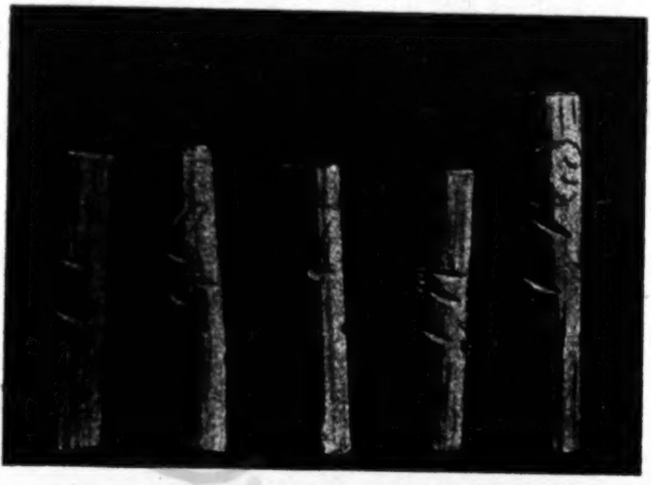

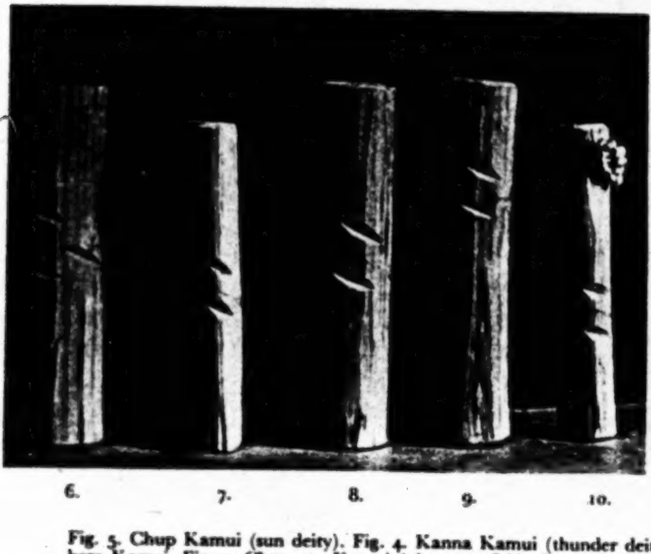

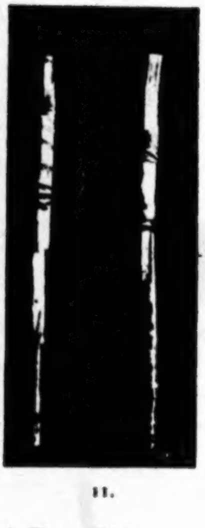

Fig. 5. Chup Kamui (sun deity). Fig. 4. Kanna Kamui (thunder deity). Fig. 3. Shirikoro Kamui. Fig. 2. Chep-atte Kamui (plenteous fish). Fig. 1. Yuk-atte Kamui (plenteous deer). Fig. 10. Ainu Sachiri Kamui (the spotted kingfisher). Fig. 9. Wakka-ush Kamui (water deity). Fig. 8. A-e-oina Kamui. Fig. 7. Abera-ra-Shut Kamui (ancestral *kamui* beneath the hearth). Fig. 6. Moshiri-kara Kamul. Fig. 11. Methods of tying the shavings on *inau* according to ancestral cult.

PLATE V *ITOKPA.*

[p. 30, (E)]

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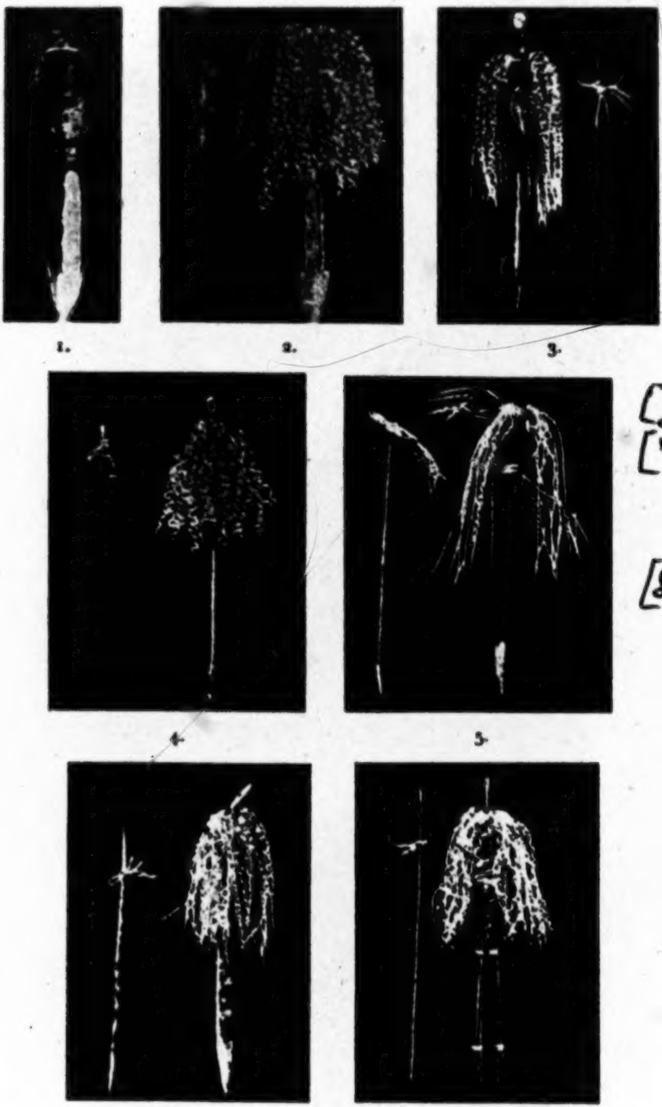

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[844]

Fig. 1. The body of Chisei-koro Kamui. The heart is tied on with shavings; the flattened side of the body represents the abdomen. Fig. 2. Chisei-koro Kamui, fully dressed, with his spear. Fig. 3. Shutu *inau* Kamui for three brothers who protect vigour and welfare. Fig. 4. Chikube-ni Kamui with spear, protector of the young bear until the time of its ritual dismissal. Fig. 5. Soko-ni Fuchi with spear, for help in difficult childbirth. Fig. 6. Ai-ush-ni Kamui. Fig. 7. Imosh Kamui, made by Uesanash Ekashi.

PLATE VII. EFFIGIES.

[p. 30, (6)]

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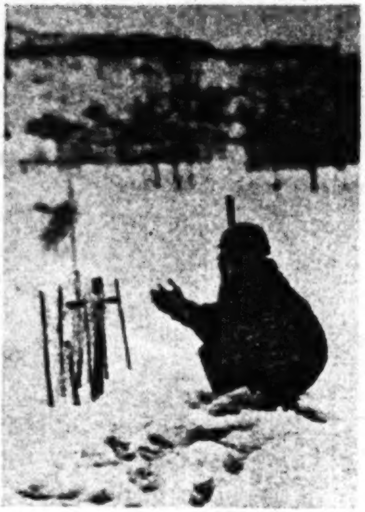

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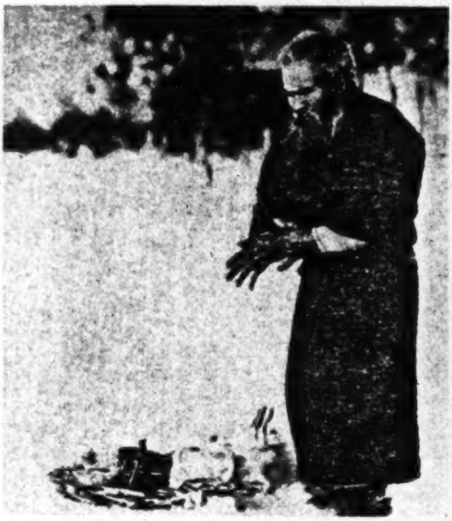
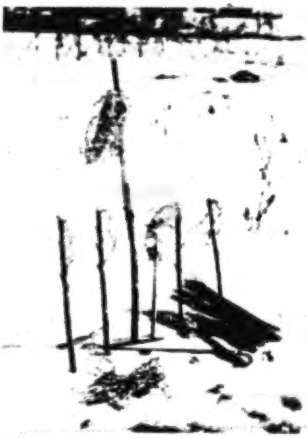
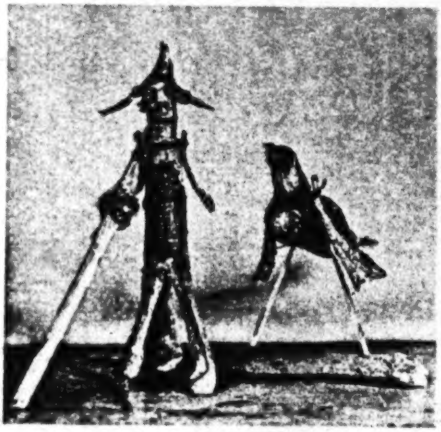


2.

[532]



3.



4.

Fig. 1. Uesanash giving ritual dismissal to Imosh Kamui.
Fig. 2. Rennuikesh Ekashi giving ritual dismissal to Penup Kamui.
Fig. 3. Imosh Kamui dismantled at the *nusa* erected for him with the *inau* appropriate to the highest *kamui*.
Fig. 4. Penup Kamui.

PLATE VIII. DANGEROUS KAMUI.

[p. 30, (H)]

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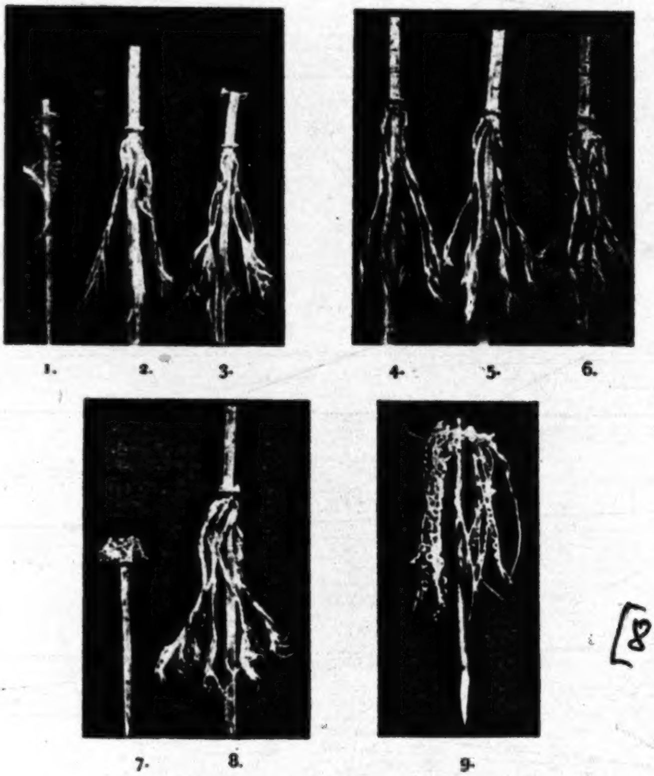
782
776 ●



[844]

Fig. 1. Iresu Fuchi (Usawara Fuchi). Fig. 2. Kanna Kamui, the sky deity. Fig. 3. Kotan-koro Kamui, eagle-owl. Fig. 4. Chiwash-koro Kamui. Fig. 5. Chup Kamui, the sun deity. Fig. 6. Rep-un Kamui, grampus. Fig. 7. Abe ochi Ekashi *Inau*: the male fire god in the north. Fig. 8. Iworo-koro Ekashi, the ancestor possessing the mountains. Used in the north. Fig. 9. *Inau* given to Kinashut Kamui to aid difficult childbirth.

All show *itokpa* markings and are made in the north.

PLATE IX. *ITOKPA* ON STEMS OF *INAU* OFFERED TO THE ABOVE *KAMUI.*

[p. 30, (I)]

and are therefore referred to in this book as winged *inau*.[1] They 824
are mobilized for grave emergencies, such as the outbreak of an 778
epidemic. With a few exceptions they are bevelled at the top to 782
represent a face, which is provided with a slit for a mouth. For [532]
good spirits this slants across the face at an angle which facilitates [184]
the insertion of a single curled shaving (Pl. II, fig. 1). In the south good winged *inau* have nine wings and in the north six or occasionally seven.

There are two sizes of winged *inau*, small (*pon*) and thick (*rutwe*). 778
The former are most often employed, being set up for four important *kamui* mentioned in the last chapter, Nusa-koro, Shiramba, 782
Hash-inau-uk and Wakka-ush *Kamui*. Four are allotted to each, 776 ●
together with other *inau* of less constant significance. The thick winged *inau* differ only in the thickness of the stem from the foregoing. When the sacred brew was made, one was set up for Shiramba Kamui at the soul *nusa*, together with four of the small ones. Four were set up at the place reserved for the ancestral spirits of the bear. The bear is known as Kim-un Kamui, the God in the [825]
Mountains, but in this ceremony is addressed as Metot-ush Kamui, [796]
the God Dwelling in Mountain Ranges.[2] At the great Bear Festival,

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[1] The translation of *shutu* is uncertain. Munro states that it means ancestor, root or foundation, and this is confirmed by Arthur Waley. Batchelor translates it as war-club, and Mr Watanabe gives the same meaning. But the *shutu inau* are not shaped as war-clubs, and Munro says that the Ainu do not associate them with war-clubs. Some *shutu inau* are associated with the ancestors. Because the *shutu inau* have wings (*rap*) they have been called winged *inau* in this book. The difference between *shutu inau* and *shutu inau kamui* is not quite clear. In this chapter Munro refers to Chisei-Koro Kamui as a *shutu inau* but later (Chapter IV) this figure is described as the most important of all the 'handmade *kamui*' (*tek-e-kara*). Except Chisei-koro Kamui all *shutu inau kamui* also have wings. In old tradition he is said to rank with Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui. His high position is borne out by his importance in the rites to be described later. It is quite possible the Ainu themselves were vague about these categories of *inau* although their names, method of construction, functions and ritual use may have been quite clear to all practising elders. [114]

The *inau*, whether winged or not, are offerings to the *kamui*. In the rituals described, the *shutu inau kamui* themselves receive prayers, libations and ritual dismissal with *inau*, hence they are treated as *kamui*, not as *inau*. It should be noted that Munro states that Chisei-koro Kamui represents Shiramba Kamui in the house. So it would not be strange if sometimes he is regarded as a *shutu inau* given to Shiramba Kamui and sometimes as an auxiliary *kamui* in his own right, even as a *pase kamui* in some districts, as Munro states (see Chapter VI). —B.Z.S. [776]

[2] Kim-un Kamui is the spirit of an individual bear, and every bear was believed to be Kim-un Kamui materialized in the form of skin and meat to be

782 which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui
776 Iomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are,
[825] in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same
[796] offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) permanently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies Sachalinensis*, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura inau. The other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.

778 An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau*,
782 is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead
[824] of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made of willow.

Wen (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel
778 evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue*
789 (hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is
[532] regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of
[791] curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*)
[801] has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eighteen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a taller one as chief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings. Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or merely a black rag tied round the head.

778 The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are
789 credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*[1] (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most
824 commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the Sambucus latipinna (*soko-ni*) and Alnus hirsuta (*kene-ni*). The Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit Elder of the World.

778 In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made
789 from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade
171 of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

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given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

[1] See footnote, p. 30.

778 extreme care and said to be most acceptable gifts to the *pase* (im-
782 portant) *kamui*. The first is the twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*)
(Pl. III, fig. 3) one of which is given to each of the trio mentioned above, and two to the *kamui* of the bear at his great salutation (*pase ongami*). The second is the outspread shaven *inau* (*kike parase*) (Pl. III, fig. 4) which is regarded as the best of all offerings. Both are fixed to poles or legs (*kema*) so that they stand higher than other winged *inau*, the outspread shaven *inau* being taller than the twisted shaven one. Both are also known as *inau netoba*, meaning the body of a living being. Another name is *shiroma inau*, *shiroma* meaning embodied. It may be noted that the curled shavings on winged *inau* and effigies of *kamui* are known as *kamui a imire* (putting on clothes), a more polite expression than the usual *amip* (clothing).

184 The foregoing applies to the south; in the north, in Kitami prov-
776 ince, I noticed some remarkable differences. One was that *inau*
778 are more crudely fashioned than in the south; another that there
354 are two kinds of *inau* on the hearth, corresponding to two *kamui*.
Instead of Kamui Fuchi reigning supreme, Abe-ochi Ekashi, the Fire-shining Ancestor, occupied the head of the hearth and his wife Abe-ochi Fuchi, the Fire-shining Ancestress, the lower end (Pl. III, figs. 5 and 6). Their positions were indicated by their respective *inau*. I found no reason for Kamui Fuchi being relegated to the lower end of the hearth where she could be in contact with ritual impurities, while such a possibility was carefully avoided in the south.

[342] The Ainu hearth is everywhere in line with the sacred window which looks out on the seats of the *kamui* indicated by their groups of *inau* (*nusa*). As a rule this window faces east, but in the north in most cases it faces upstream. Then the sacred end of the hearth, at what would normally be its north-east corner, is occupied by a crowd of *ekashi inau*, and the lower, which would usually be its western end, has a single *inau* and not always that.

776 Abe-ochi Fuchi, though also recognized as Kamui Fuchi, plays
[562] second fiddle as an Ainu wife should do. Yet she is still Iresu
Kamui who rears the Ainu, is appealed to for children and in child-
[782] birth, and takes charge of operations against evil spirits. As my
[789] friend Rennuikesh put it, Abe-ochi Ekashi is higher and more
powerful, but Iresu Kamui is more esteemed.

184 In the north, the Ainu culture is more decadent than in the
182

south. At Shiranoka, Haruna, Kutcharo and Pihoro, disintegration 184
was general. At the two latter places several Ainu at first denied all 182
knowledge of their own culture and language, and asserted that
they had only Japanese names.

In the north, Iresu Kamui is identified with Uare Kamui as well 778
as Abe-ochi Fuchi, being called Usarawa Kamui, a name applied 776
to Uare Kamui only behind her back, so to speak, in most parts of
the Hokkaido. This name, which implies position near the lower 184
end of the hearth, usually occupied by women and children, is even 354
given to her *inau* on the hearth. Rennuikesh, however, says that it
should properly be called *shian shutu inau* (Pl. III, fig. 1). The [562]
ekashi inau[1] given to Abe-ochi Ekashi accumulate in his corner till [858]
they form a small forest, which at Pihoro seemed to me to run a
risk from the nearby fire. I was told, however, that their low height
is for safety, and that when the accumulation is too great some are
given ritual dismissal in a river.

Winged *inau*, taller than those usually seen in the south, are 778
plentiful in the north. As I intended (but failed) to return for further
examination, I did not make detailed notes, but saw one with 782
seven wings and several with six. Rennuikesh, who came to Nibutani 184
at my invitation, gave me information which helps to make up [114]
for my neglect. One item is that on festal occasions Abe-ochi
Ekashi and Abe-ochi Fuchi each receive two special winged *inau*,
his being called male (*pinne*) (Pl. III, fig. 5) and hers female (*matne*)
(Pl. III, fig. 6). Only one of his is burnt, but both of hers are burnt
as offerings, after standing during prayers and libations in the
ashes of the hearth. These ancestral (*shutu*) *inau* are interesting.
The male one resembles the *ekashi inau*; the female recalls the
backward-shaven *inau*, with the difference that the upper bunch
of curls is shaven from above and the other from below. The flat
top, too, is similar to that of the *inau* offered to Kinashut Kamui.
Its serpent form, in the south, is usually made and brought in to [755]
heal the sick by driving away evil spirits. I was struck by the absence
of Nusa-koro Kamui and the chaff-thrown *nusa* in the north, [243]
where the Ainu seem to have forgotten millet cultivation. Instead
there is an ancestral *nusa*, crowded with winged *inau*. But Kinashut

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[1] Abe-ochi Ekashi has been referred to as the Fire-shining Ancestor. The *ekashi inau* mentioned in this chapter are dedicated to him. It is not clear whether the title *ekashi* here means ancestor, but it probably does, as the special (*pinne* and *matne*) *inau* are *shutu* (ancestral) *inau*.—B.Z.S.

THE INAU

778 Kamui is invoked for aid in sickness and difficult childbirth, as is
782 Abe-ochi Fuchi. So far as I can learn no image is made, but its
184 place is taken by an interesting *inau* (Pl. III, fig. 7). It is made of
[824] willow with six groups of curls as in the backward-shaven *inau*,
and shaven in the same direction but in long thin strips. Also with
[755] a cuplike mouth, its name, *kinashut kamui inau*, implies ancestral
associations. It is brought near the patient, and prayers for aid are
said.

At the ancestral (*ekashi*) *nusa*, are *inau* of the same type as the backward-shaven *inau*, but cut flat on top. Another type is the bird-true (*chikappo shian*) *inau*, which is a sort of twisted shaven *inau*, but is distinguished by its two upper wings and its spread-out spirals below (Pl. III, fig. 8). It is dedicated to the spirit of the eagle owl. Then there is an *inau* more highly finished than most,
● [776] which is a special offering to the chief sea-god, Rep-un Kamui.[1]
He is to be identified with the grampus, which is able to kill whales and is therefore a creature of immense power. His *inau* is also called *shian* (truly existing, real), a distinction shared with some others.

778 The *inau* called *ekashi inau* (Pl. III, fig. 9), is used for augury.
Hunters insert it in the ground near the camp fire and set it alight.
787 The direction in which the burning part falls is believed to indicate
184 the direction of game. At Nibutani a somewhat similar mode of
divination is practised. After solicitation of Kamui Fuchi for a true
[782] answer, a fire-stick (*ibe-bashui*), which is a sacred object, is lightly
stuck in the ashes of the hearth, near enough to the fire to be heated but not to burn. I am told that it will wobble round and then fall, and that if it points to the upper end of the hearth the answer is favourable, and *vice versa*.

778 We may now return to the south where most of my investigation
789 was done. Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the sacred curled
shavings are regarded as *inau*, and have considerable powers of pro-
[114] tection. They are hung from the junction of walls and roof, particularly over the place of treasures on the north side, over one south window, on the east, and in dark corners where evil spirits might lurk, and are known in these parts as house brains (*chisei noibe*). Batchelor calls them house heart (*chi sei sambe*), which is doubtless their name in some districts. They are attached to the

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[1] Ainu usually say that the grampus (Rep-un Kamui) was a kind of guardian deity of their ancestors; some say that they worship it because it rescued their ancestor in an emergency.—H.W.

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook 778
(*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value. 789

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a
festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden [796]
pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*)
the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might [796]
attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a [301]
coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations in-
volving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the [396]
same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are
regarded as potent amulets for personal protection.

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing
the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult [301]
labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms [755]
the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. [845]
It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under [844]
the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was ad-
ministering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged
parturition.

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to [513]
retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during
sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled [774]
shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of
grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled [411]
shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put
on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first
wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state
it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to [278]
women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide [762]
by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the [776]
spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted
device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation [787]
wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round [825]
the victim's head. [755]

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said 778
about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, 532
there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani 212
neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised
on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual [796]
dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male [776]

778 782 and Pl. III, fig. 3). All *inau* are planted in the ground, those required to be higher than their neighbours being raised on legs (*kema*), as already mentioned. Next comes the soul (*ram*) *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui (B), whose 'soul' is believed to act locally for Ainu welfare. He receives the same kinds and number of *inau*, except that the small winged ones are somewhat taller than those given to Nusa-koro Kamui, as are those for the other *kamui* at the fences. Like other *kamui* he receives additions on gala occasions, to be described as they occur. It seems that formerly there was a space between the *nusa* of different *kamui*, but now, though the chaff-thrown *nusa* is always kept separate, those of the other *kamui* are often adjoined. Next is the *nusa* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui (C)[1] who is given four small winged *inau* and one beautiful twisted shaven *inau* (*kike-parase inau*). Then comes the *nusa* (D), devoted to various *kamui*, including the bear, eagle-owl (Kotan-koro Kamui) and several others, connected with ancestral cult and worshipped at important festivals in *pase ongami* ritual. Here four or more thick winged *inau* and two twisted shaven *inau* are set up. The last *nusa* (E) is that of Wakka-ush-Kamui, who has four small winged *inau* and a backward-shaven *inau*, and on important occasions a twisted shaven *inau*. But this *kamui*, or his assistant spirits, may be offered *inau* of the two usual kinds at various riverain sites, including the site of the water-working millet pounder (*yutap*).

[774] The *nusa* fences provide resting places for the *ramat* of the *kamui*, where they may receive the appropriate offerings of *inau*. [776] Thus, the inhabitants of the house can always be in contact with the protecting (*ehangi*) *kamui*, close at hand to listen to suppliants, and protect them from evil spirits. Through the sacred window their *ramat* holds communion with Kamui Fuchi. The elders pray to her in language stereotyped by repetition from generation to generation, and she communicates with the spirits. [771] On festive occasions libations are given to the *kamui* at their respective *nusa*, and they are believed to join in the general feasting and gaiety. The ritual of the hearth and the *nusa* forms an integral part of Ainu life.

[796] In the diagram, four backward-shaven *inau* at (F) indicate the place where the 'Falling Tears' ceremony was held at every festival

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[776] [1] Another name for this *kamui* is Iso-sange-mat. This deity gives the Ainu successful hunting and is believed to assume the guise of a small bird in its manifestation. It is also said to be a sister to the fire deity. It has other names such as Iso-ampa-Kamui, game-owning deity, and Iso-an-Kamui.—H.W.

when the sacred beer was brewed. Here the sole religious observance 778
permitted to women was performed—the offering of food and 782
libations. These are sprinkled and spread on the ground near the [796]
chaff-thrown *nusa*, though the spot selected may vary in different [562]
houses or villages. In some places the regular number of four *inau*
offered to each *kamui* is departed from, each woman being given a
backward-shaven *inau* to insert in the soil when making her
offering.

These *inau* serve to remind the ancestral spirits, whether recent [769]
or remote, that they are not neglected by their descendants. Like
those set up at the fences, they are never removed. It must not be
supposed, however, that they are always in a condition 'to beautify
the land and gratify the *kamui*'. Even when they were regularly
renewed the weather soon played havoc with their elegance, and
nowadays most of them are in a ruinous state. But to pass between [784]
the fences and the sacred window was formerly taboo to those not [576]
engaged in the performance of ceremonies, and to do so is still regarded as an affront to the householder.

Inau fences are not only erected outside the sacred window.
Other *kamui* have such fences dedicated to them at certain locations, [776] ●
notably Masara-koro Kamui, who protects fishing boats,
above the high-water mark, Tomari-koro Kamui at harbours, and
Chiwash-koro Kamui at river mouths. *Nusa* and single *inau* are
offered to oak and other trees, and also to places in the mountains
where *kamui* are believed to reside.[1]

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[1] There were many more places than those mentioned by Munro where single *inau* or groups of *inau* were erected and rites were performed. Places associated with each family were the skinning place, the bone dump, the place for discarding animal skins, the place for preparing fish, and the source of drinking water. There were also places where *inau* were erected communally. One of these for the local group was *petorun nusa*, near the salmon spawning beds, and another was the *nusa-san* at the mountain hut which was the headquarters of a group of hunters.—H.W.

IV

EFFIGIES

778 [774] [789] IN the preceding chapter we described the objects called *inau*,
by means of which *ramat* is retained in more or less concen-
trated form, which are regarded as affording protection against
[782] evil spirits and which serve as offerings to all helpful *kamui* and
messengers to important ones.

The faith formerly reposed in the *inau* was not without benefit.
[755] Hope was sustained in times of trouble and danger, and sickness
was alleviated and even cured. This faith has not entirely ceased
[182] to exist. Where, as at Nibutani, the Ainu still retain some of their
communal solidarity, many adhere to their ancient creed and its
methods of defence against evil spirits.

778 We have now to consider the methods of promoting some *inau*
● 776 to the rank of *kamui*, in which *ramat* is so concentrated that it acts
532 dynamically, though always with the approval and usually under
the command of the higher *kamui*. Although we shall meet with
[774] a few effigies in other than *inau* shape it is significant that most of
the hand-made representations of *kamui* closely resemble the
winged *inau*. This fact is consonant with their interpretation as
effigies reduced to little more than emblems.

These objects are sometimes called 'hand-made' (*tek-e-kara*) *kamui*, but should not be referred to in this way. The correct terms are *Ainu-monka-enupuru kamui*, which may mean 'mysteriously made without blemish', or 'besought' (*chinisuk*) *kamui*. The first to be described is so superior to all others in holiness and general authority that in this region it is esteemed as an 'important' (*pase*) *kamui*. This is Chisei-koro Kamui, House-possessing

Deity.[1] It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for 778
its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked 776
with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency 532
to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, [824]
and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is [787]
substituted.[2] Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one.

The following is a description of the making of Chisei-koro 778
Kamui; that for other hand-made *kamui* is similar but shorter. 782
First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and 322
a backward-shaven *inau* is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro 532
Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul 776
nusa, and an *inau* of the same kind is given to each of them The [774]
prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his *ramat* may be imparted to the future *kamui*, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several *shutu-inau kamui*, is represented by a live ember (*usat*) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven *inau* which is given to him, he presents quite a regal
aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of 778
the *inau* he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by 776

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[1] See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1 532

[2] Every wooden hand-made *kamui* is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at 773
the soul *nusa* because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is [796]
Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when [412]
these are worn out or broken.—H.W.

EFFIGIES

778 A-e-oina Kamui who taught the Ainu to make this *kamui*. Entering
776 by the sacred window he is introduced to Kamui Fuchi, who is
532 begged to consult him as deputy for Shiramba Kamui.

773 It has been stated that he is the husband of Kamui Fuchi. Such a surmise might be prompted by the fact that his heart came hot from her hearth, but all the elders whom I questioned emphatically denied it. There is an idea that Shiramba Kamui is her father, and this, though vague, makes the suggestion of such a relationship repugnant. As to the evidence of the heart, not only is the charred wood the gift of Shiramba Kamui, but it also refers to the original method of fire-production. Further, the same argument would apply to two other hand-made *kamui* of the winged type, whose hearts are also live embers from the fire.

778 Chisei-koro Kamui is ensconced in the sacred north-east corner
776 till the time comes for his ritual dismissal,[1] or taking flight (*hopun-*
532 *ire*). Till then it is very rare for him to be moved from his place by
the corner-post. It is said in old tales that when a nearby con-
[789] flagration threatened the house, he, as deputy for Shiramba Kamui,
[171] was taken to the ridge of the roof to ward it off. A similar expedient is still employed in Japan.

[764] Formerly when the householder died this effigy was taken to the soul *nusa* and dismantled with due ceremony and a parting gift of *inau*. Some Ainu now think it better to retain the old and experienced *kamui* than to make a new one.

778 In prayer he is called Kenru-sopa a-a-Kamui in reference to his
776 position in the house. *Kenru* is the old name for a house, *sopa* indi-
552 cates the north-east corner, and *chisei* means a dwelling, of men
or animals including a burrow or a wasps' nest. Among other titles
532 he is known as House-protecting (Chisei-epungine) Kamui or Ekashi. He is also called Makta, Makwa, or Makna Kamui;[2] these may mean that he is ancient or that in his corner he is far (from Kamui Fuchi). His most significant title is House-root-sustaining
532 (Kenru-shut-amba) Kamui. Rennuikesh told me that at his and
778 other villages in the north there is no separate effigy of Chisei-koro
776 Kamui, but that curled shavings are tied round the corner-post
184 about two feet from the ground, with an old Japanese sword-
[796]

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[1] There are three types of ritual dismissal, of which *kamui iomande*, for the bear, is the most honourable. It is not quite clear what is the functional difference between *hopun-ire* and the third type—*iwakte*.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Makta* means distant, *makan* and *makun* mean behind or ancient (Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 105).—N.G.M.

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guard attached to represent a heart. At Pihoro, I was told, the heart of this *kamui* is taken from the hearth. 778 [184]

Chisei-koro Kamui receives every consideration as the representative of Shiramba Kamui; he is formally saluted by every male visitor who enters the house, and on festal occasions is worshipped with prayer and libations oftener than are the *kamui* outside. He is also supplicated in time of trouble, but always after Kamui Fuchi, and less than Nusa-koro Kamui whose soul *nusa* also permits direct appeal to Shiramba Kamui. He is, it seems, chiefly responsible for the house and its contents, which are considered to be gifts from Shiramba Kamui, and is what he is described as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi on his first introduction, the House-head-protecting Personal Kamui (Kenru-sopa-kopunkine-kamui). At Nibutani he is revered as a *pase kamui*. [576] [782]

Shutu Inau Kamui

As noted previously the *shutu inau* have been described as winged *inau*, but in order to make the distinction clear the word *shutu* has been retained for the *shutu inau kamui*. The absence of wings on Chisei-koro Kamui is all that distinguishes him from hand-made *kamui* of winged *inau* form. These *kamui* differ from the less potent winged *inau* chiefly in that they wear a garment of curled shavings on their shoulders. *Inau* as such have only one tassel, if any. the double tassel is what distinguishes the winged *inau kamui* from them. These *kamui* are mostly male, and as a rule are armed with a spear or sword of mugwort. Conserving *ramat* obtained from the important *kamui*, and being armed, these *kamui* are more powerful than *inau*, and able to defeat the evil spirits which the Ainu regard as responsible for most of their misfortunes. Though representing to some extent the important *kamui* they are believed to act independently, and therefore arouse feelings of awe which increase in proportion to belief in their powers. 778 776 [774]

There is a rite to thank all *kamui* for their help and send them home when their presence is no longer needed—a form of honourable leave-taking. This will be called 'ritual dismissal'. The most reverent of all dismissals is that performed at the ceremonial killing of the sacred bear, and is called *kamui iomande*. That for Chisei-koro Kamui and most other *kamui*, including those which have only a temporary function, is called rising up to the sky (*hopun-ire*), and is a reward for defeating the evil spirits. First there should be 778 776 796 782

778 ● 776 a thankful prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with the usual burnt offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Then from four to six bunches of 782 curled shavings are affixed to the *kamui*, and four fresh small- 796 winged *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa* with an outspread-shaven *inau* between each pair. The *kamui* is taken out by the sacred window, receives due thanks, and is gently dismantled at the *nusa*. The *inau* body is erected next to the outspread-shaven *inau*, with its face to the east. Praise and thanks are again given to it and to the important *kamui*. Sometimes an extra offering is made, of a yeasty substance (*kamdachi*) and the kind of millet (*piyaba*) usually used [273] for brewing. When the sacred beer was available, libations of it might be poured, but the yeast and millet were given so that the *kamui* might, if they so desired, brew for themselves.

[755] If a hand-made *kamui* has proved inefficient, that is if after it has been invoked to cure sickness the case becomes hopeless, the [761] *kamui* is dismissed, and if a sudden death occurs is dismissed immediately. In such cases the ritual is curtailed, a scanty allowance of two curled *inau* is enough, without fresh *inau* at the *nusa*. [763] Sometimes, however, when the life of a comatose patient seemed to be needlessly prolonged by the help of the *kamui*, it was given ritual dismissal without reducing the reward, so that the dying person might have a happy release. It is also said that an aged man or woman lingering hopelessly ill would request ritual dismissal for the *kamui* to whom appeal for help had been made. In such a case full honours were accorded.

778 776 532 There are three brothers who have similar effigies (Pl. VII, fig. 3). The most commonly invoked is the Protector of Vigour and Welfare (*Seremak kopungine shutu-inau Kamui*). He has the conventional mouth of the winged *inau*, a flattened belly, nine wings, two sets of curled shavings and a sword and spear of mugwort. The second, One who Rears or Trains (*Urespa*), is specially concerned with the health of children, but is seldom invoked except in the case of a long illness. The third, Achievement or Success (*Usapki*), whom I have never seen, was formerly invoked for success in hunting and fishing.

The remaining *kamui* of this type differ mostly in the material [824] used. For additional defence of the doorway the same kind of effigy is made either of elder or of *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*) the bast of which has an odour which is curiously repugnant to some people and is believed to repel evil spirits. Another *shutu*

EFFIGIES 778

inau kamui credited with an effective odour is made of the bird 776 ●
cherry (*kikin-ni*) and is called Nursing (Ikaluye) Kamui. It is still 532
sometimes employed in fevers and is placed by the bedside while [824]
an infusion of the bark is administered to the patient.

Plate VII, fig. 4, shows Chikube-ni Kamui. He is of lighter make [757]
than most others because he is used to drive away evil spirits from [796]
the young bear in its last 'running round' before its ceremonial
death. He is also attached to the cage of a bear cub which is being [825]
reared for the ceremony. He is carried round an intended house-site
in a rite of purification performed when evil spirits are believed 778
to lurk there. Among other of his tasks the most socially important 776
is defence of the village against spirits bringing epidemic disease. 532
Then he is called Kotan-Kikikara Kamui, but this name is also 751
given to Kinashut Kamui, whose effigy of curled shaving (Pl. IV,
fig. 2) is even more potent. Either may be installed a short distance
from the village at each end and where a road enters. But the *shutu* [164]
inau kamui is said locally to be more for general protection or for
such milder diseases as measles, whooping cough or influenza; for
smallpox or a severe epidemic of typhoid Kinashut Kamui is
invoked. However, neither of them is invoked once a severe epidemic
has broken out in the village.

The bodies of several *shutu inau kamui* are made of elder. One 778
of them, Soko-ni Fuchi (Pl. VII, fig. 5) is invoked in difficult 776
childbirth to aid Uari Kamui, deputy of Kamui Fuchi, should one 532
of willow be insufficient. [824]

Another *shutu inau kamui* is Ramat-tak Kamui, so called because
it can bring back the *ramat* which has wandered too far from a person's 776
body. It is rarely used but is invoked when a patient is unconscious 778
from a sudden seizure and is thought to be virtually 755
dead. The elder-tree body of this *kamui* is formed like that of other
shutu inau kamui, with one difference: the heart is taken not from 532
the hearth but from the earthen floor, a pinch from each side of the [824]
entrance, where the posts of the two Apa-sam Kamui guard the
house from intrusion by evil spirits.

The body (*netoba*), without curled shavings, is made near the 782
hearth after prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with a backward-shaven *inau*
standing in the ashes, and is then erected on the hearth, at the end
facing the doorway. Next, a fairly long prayer is made to the *kamui*
on the left of the doorway (the right on entering) in which the
petitioner is called 'grandchild', as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi. In

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778 this and in the shorter prayer to the *kamui* on the other side they
755 are both addressed as ancestors. Then the earth is bound to the
532 body with curled shavings, the tassels are adjusted, the doorway
[782] deities are thanked, and Kamui Fuchi is again asked for help.
Then the effigy is set up beside the unconscious patient. My informant, Nisukrek-guru, has told me of instances in which elders achieved resuscitation by this means, and he had seen it work when other methods had failed.

If Ramat-tak Kamui is successful it is brought to the hearth; four to six bunches of curled shavings are attached to it; it is again stuck in the lower hearth; Kamui Fuchi is thanked, and it is taken out by the door, not by the sacred window like other *shutu inau kamui*. In this respect it shares a procedure common to the worship of Nusa-koro Kamui and of the ancestral spirits on festive occasions. No *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa*, but it is brought to the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, thanked and dismantled. Should it fail, it gets only two bunches of curled shavings, is not taken again to the hearth, and is dismissed with scant ceremony.

[824] Ai-ush-ni Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 6) is a *shutu inau kamui* whose
body is made of a thorny tree (*Acanthopanax ricinifolium*). Though a formidable looking warrior, he is not much employed; in fact, the only evil spirit whom, to my knowledge, he is engaged to fight,
[757] is Pauchi Kamui, and then only for stomach-ache. The effigy is
set up near the sufferer, and water in which the chopped root of the tree has been boiled is taken frequently. That it is employed against stomach-ache may explain why the belly of the effigy is not
[789] flattened by shaving, as is usually done with these effigies. Another
variety of this *kamui* is employed solely to drive out evil at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Known as Ika-kik (Driving-out-evil) Kamui, it has only an ephemeral existence and has therefore no curled shavings. It has the usual nine wings, a headband and a belt. But, instead of a spear and sword, it has a club of the same thorny wood hung from the headband. The patient is brought to the *nusa*, prayer is offered, and the club is used to beat the air round the patient. I have not seen this, but am told that it is sufficient to drive the evil Pauchi away.

776 The making of two kinds of *shutu inau kamui* is believed to in-
778 volve risk to the maker. This is explained by the uncertainty of
322 their disposition; they may take umbrage at any slight or inad-
532 vertent lack of reverence. But the cause of the dread lies deeper,

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and it is extended to all objects which, when no longer required, 776
are given ritual dismissal. One is Imosh Kamui, who awakens from 778
death those who are stricken to insensibility by a head injury or 322
from loss of blood, and fall apparently dead in the home. He is not 532
invoked when a patient who has been suffering from severe illness
becomes unconscious. He is more powerful than Ramat-tak Kamui
and is more dreaded. Several elders told me of an old saying that
one who makes Imosh Kamui cannot expect to live long, or runs
a risk of losing his life. I persuaded Uesanash to make the specimen [126]
seen in Pl. VII, fig. 7, but as soon as I had photographed it he gave
it ritual dismissal. In Pl. VIII, fig. 1, the old man of seventy-four [796]
years is seen praying in the snow at the *nusa* he had set up for the
occasion, with all the highest offerings that can be given to any [782]
kamui, i.e., four winged *inau* for the ancestral spirits, one back-
ward-shaven *inau* and one outspread shaven *inau*. Whether it was [796]
that he performed the ritual dismissal at an extemporized *nusa*, or,
in my garden, an unsanctified spot, or whether he had invoked the
kamui without necessity, the next day this lame old man fell in the
privy and was laid up with an injured leg. That an elder should
accept this accident as a punishment from the spirit of the privy [771]
(Ru-koro Kamui), for some ritual error, is evidence of the inten-
sity of Ainu belief in spirit power.

The effigy of Imosh Kamui should be made at the *nusa* of Nusa-
koro Kamui after petition to the three 'important' *kamui* already
mentioned. There are two slightly different forms of his effigy.
That made by Nisukrek Guru has legs of willow, tassels at the ends
of the arms, and a high headband. The other, made by Uesanash
Ekashi is more robed with shavings, and has no tassels at the ends
of the arms. Both forms have a heart made from an ember, as
described above. One authority says that there should be four
pulses of charcoal, one on each arm and leg, but I have not seen
this. Should an accident occur in the hills, and Imosh Kamui be
required at once to restore the victim to life, Shiramba Kamui [782]
must be asked to grant permission, and the effigy may then be
given a substitute heart of earth. Imosh Kamui is given ritual dis- [796]
missal with full honours at the *inau* fence for Nusa-koro Kamui
whether he has been successful or not.

According to tradition, when A-e-oina Kamui was in danger of 776
being overcome in a fight, or, as in one version, had been actually
killed, his immortal spirit invoked Imosh Kamui from Rikun 773

● 776

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773 Kando, his place in the sky. Then, revived and reinforced by the united powers of *ramat* and mugwort, the god vanquished all his enemies.

778 Another effigy made of mugwort resembles a cross in that the
532 two legs are not formed. It is not usually called a *kamui* but *ifunarep*,
a searching thing. It can be made anywhere without ceremony and has no curled shavings, but a heart of earth is bound to it with grass. It is used to find lost objects such as a knife dropped in the woods, and is said to be very successful.

[776] A *shutu inau kamui* of elder wood, similar to Ramat-tak Kamui, is called Ifunara Kamui and is employed in the home with the usual ceremonies to find people lost in the wilds. I have been told of adults and children who were found owing to the guidance given by this *kamui*.

776 The group shown in Pl. VIII, fig. 4, was made for me by
778 Rennuikesh at my urgent solicitation. The man is called Penup
123 Tono, Chief Penup and the bird Penup Chikap, Bird Penup. Together
532 they are known as Penup Kamui, a most formidable combination.
A kind of swallow-wort (a *cynanchum*) is known as *penup*
in the north, where alone, so far as I know, the *kamui* takes this
[278] form. Swallow-wort is a powerful drug and has a reputation for
intrinsic magical power; here it is called *ikema*. Just after Rennuikesh
had made the Penup Kamui for me and I had photographed
it, the son of my house servant became very ill from cellulitis of
[791] the neck. A woman medium, who had no doubt heard of what we
had been doing, pronounced the sickness due to the indignation of
[755] Ikema Kamui, and an elder was sent to my house to perform the
rite of exorcism. I knew nothing of this until I had operated and
the child was recovering. Being afraid that this incident might
interfere with my study of Ainu culture I called the elder who,
though most friendly to me, was positive that I was partly responsible
for the illness. The truth was that Rennuikesh had been so
much afraid to use swallow-wort in the making of these figures
that I had allowed him to use another root of similar appearance.
[755] Later, in the house where he was staying, Rennuikesh performed
[782] a regular worship for five *pase kamui* with the correct prayers and
libations. It is typical of the genuineness of his beliefs and the
kindness of his character that he did this for the benefit of his host
and his family, but that he did not mention it to me. I heard of it
later from his host.

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When I told the officiating elder that swallow-wort had not been 778
used he brightened up and said that the child could recover. He 776
honestly believed that had the *kamui* been summoned for so 123
frivolous a purpose as photography, nothing that I could do would
save the boy. This incident turned out happily, for it was the gratitude 532
of the boy's mother which led her to reveal the secret of the
women's girdles, to which we shall come later.

Rennuikesh told me that in the north Penup Kamui is seldom 778
made, and then usually as a last resort in the face of approaching 776
pestilence. If the danger is still some distance away the two *kamui*
on the hearth are petitioned, and usually six *inau* of elder are set up. 789
These resemble small winged *inau* but have no curled shavings. 782
They are called abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. Each set has a chief made
of *chikube-ni* at each end, the chiefs being male and female winged [184]
inau. They correspond to the two *kamui* of the hearth, the male
being on the east side and the female on the west.

If these prove unavailing Penup Kamui comes on the scene.
Should the epidemic stop short of the village or do little harm the
figures are taken to the *ekashi nusa*, thanked, broken up, mixed
with millet and the yeasty substance, and left to rot. Pl. VIII,
fig. 2, shows Rennuikesh, who had wrapped up Penup Kamui and
removed it to a safe distance, performing the last salutation before
taking the figures to pieces. The Penup figures are composite; the [824]
head and body of the man should be of swallow-wort and the arms,
legs and spear of mugwort. The head and body of the bird are
also of swallow-wort and the neck, legs, wings and tail of mugwort.
Rennuikesh felt no compunction in using mugwort, but to use
swallow-wort for the body of a *kamui* without real need was to risk
resentment and serious trouble.

In Sakhalin a human image called *nipopo* is carved in wood and 778
is wrapped in an *inau* with body cut short. It is made for wealth,
good luck and the protection of babies, and, lest its powers fail, 532
it is kept in a box and shown to nobody.

What little I can say of the cult of natural objects may find a 778
place here. A mountain or hill near a village usually received libations 823
of beer with prayer at festivals. Some hills have specially
sacred associations, and so have certain narrow valleys. Though [782]
the legends concerning them present them as abodes of spirits
or fabulous beings rather than as reservoirs of *ramat*, one
cannot assert that sacred mountains are merely backgrounds for

778 823 [769] anthropomorphic or theriomorphic *kamui*. It is not the bear as such which receives adoration at festivals, but its Ancestral Host or primeval ancestors as mountain deities vaguely identified with 'the strength of the hills'.[1] I am told that hills not specially reserved for *kamui* worshipped at the *pase ongami* are mostly revered as the home of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

Worship of rocks and standing stones is not very common. A rock near Nibutani faintly resembling a bear used to receive attention. In the north, at a place near Lake Kutcharo called Oya-kot, there is a standing stone which is said to be a monument or image of Moshiri-kara Kamui. He is supposed to have left it with some of his *ramat* on retiring after the creation of the world. It is highly venerated and probably worshipped. Batchelor[2] mentions a natural stone at Usu on the south-west coast, which appears to have been worshipped, and tells of boulders in rivers, which were believed to harbour kelpies and were said to have been charged with the destruction of an enemy while crossing the river.

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[776] [825] [1] According to the Ainu the bear itself is a mountain deity which brings skin and flesh to be given to them. The deity would be pleased to be caught by a good-tempered hunter and visit his house, bringing its precious gifts. For the hunter, the visit of a mountain deity should be an occasion of great honour. In return for the skin and flesh he would offer entertainment to the visitor and send him back to his home country with great ceremony. In the deity's home-country, it is believed, his relatives and their chief live, and they would welcome the deity with precious souvenirs given him by the Ainu. The chief deity would command his subordinate to visit such a good Ainu again.—H.W.

[2] *The Ainu and their Folklore*, London, 1901, pp. 399–400.

HEARTH AND HOME

342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-
[192] in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.[1] Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned
[766] babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk
[775] pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed
[776] to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of
[556] the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam
[789] Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against

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[231] [1] When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a tripod frame over which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *ketun-ni*. In
[173] legends (*uebekere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was covered with bark and the *poro ketunchi chisei* (large *ketunchi* house), which
[174] was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu. —B.Z.S.

evil spirits, and the faithful Ainu dog against bad men. Ainu 342
honesty was, however, such that a house was generally safe but
for resentful intrusion. A backward-shaven *inau* was inserted in [789]
the wall at the side of or above the entrance. This was an offering [776]
made anew for all ceremonial occasions. Curled shavings were [231]
attached at the entrance, above windows, and in corners where [782]
mischievous spirits might lurk. [778]

Text fig. 2 shows the ground-plan of an average Ainu house.
Facing the entrance (A) is the hearth (1) (*abe-shotki*), literally fire- 342
bed. The hearth varies in size with the area of the room from about 353
5 to 8 feet in length and 3 to 5 feet in width. It is surrounded by a 354
heavy wooden frame (*inumbe*) (2), which retains the ashes and defines the hearth as orientated in a line from the entrance to the sacred window. The foot of the hearth near the doorway is called *abe-kesh*, and the space near it where the women and children sit is called *usara* (B). The space at the sides is called fireside (*abe-sam*) (C).

The head of the hearth is the *abe-etok* or *hoka-etok*, head of the fire. Between this and the sacred window (F) is the space, known as *rorun* (D), of uncertain meaning. The sacred window is *rorun puyara*, a mere hole in the wall, formerly closed by a mat. Rennuikesh told me of an old song and ritual dance with which the sunshine was greeted at this window.

At each of the top corners of the hearth, and projecting slightly above the *inumbe*, was a round post driven into the ground (4). These posts were called things-at-the-top of the hearth-frame (*inumbe-sa-ush-pe*). The one on the right hand, facing the entrance, the conventional seat of the house-owner, served as a work bench for marking implements, etc. This lent it peculiar importance, and when the house-owner died it was customary to pull it up and not
replace it until the heir was in possession or the widow remarried. [587]
The latter seldom happened unless she married her husband's
brother.

This post was not thrown away but given ritual dismissal. Before [796]
its removal prayer was made to Kamui Fuchi and then to Nusakoro Kamui. According to Nisukrekguru it was then taken through the sacred window and reverently laid to rest at the soul *nusa*, but Tekatte Fuchi, a bright and reliable lady of eighty-four—a veritable mine of tradition—is equally certain that it was deposited with Nusa-koro Kamui. There, disused things were left, but not

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353 from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached
354 to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations
[796] were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekguru has seen elders
[782] emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit
354 service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never
764 buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the
774 living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as representing one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less fami-
354 liarly, as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the
775 dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground,
[184] the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits
of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth
(Abe-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty ancestor is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*[1] *kamui*, powerful *kamui*.

354 The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi,
● 776 and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder,
774 before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glowing embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out. When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe
[688] betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no
[586] worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who
reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery as a reason for divorce.

[796] Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of
[782] food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an
oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is supposed to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

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[1] Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

354 sacred; no one dared to spit in the ashes or defile them in any
776 way. It was the duty of a wife or mother to comb the ashes, feed
774 the fire and see that the pot did not boil over. In sitting near the
[462] hearth a woman should not point her feet towards it; even an elder would not expose his soles to it.

354 Since nothing was allowed to contaminate the purity of the fire, ritual impurity was avoided by making another fire at the lower
776 end of the hearth.[1] Kamui Fuchi delegated matters involving ritual impurity such as generation, pregnancy and childbirth to Uari Kamui, who was vaguely regarded as her assistant and supposed to act at the lower end of the hearth. Except at a birth Uari Kamui could be invoked without a fire, but Kamui Fuchi never was. Otherwise there was no clearer distinction between them than between Nusa-koro and Kinashut Kamui.

354 In this district there were definite positions around the hearth
554 assigned to members of the family and to guests of both sexes according to their social standing. Customary positions are indicated on the plan. The house-owner, as we have seen, sits at (5), with his wife beside him at (6). Formerly, if he had another wife she lived in a separate house. No single house, however spacious, could comfortably accommodate more than one wife. Honoured
[574] guests could sit at the head of the hearth (7), and children at the side at (8). Chisei-koro Kamui stands in the north-east corner (9).
[776] Among his titles is Sopa-un Kamui, He Who Resides at the *Sopa*, which includes the corner and the adjoining north wall. At (10) a *shutu inau kamui* is often installed. In Plate XIV, which shows the interior of a large house, two such *kamui* can be discerned at the far end by the double sets of curled *inau*. In the corner Chisei-koro Kamui can just be seen.

415 Treasured objects are hoarded on the north side in rows (11)
523 near the *sopa*. These include many lacquered vessels, some being
[353] heirlooms of superior make (Pl. XII). Probably most were obtained in barter or given by former Japanese masters for services rendered.
[439] The *shintoko* are round, square or polygonal boxes with feet and
[177] lids, all lacquered, and some are old and of fine quality. Occasionally used for cereals, beans or similar food, they were formerly important at festivals as receptacles for the sacred brew. Among other treasures are wooden ladles for pouring out the sacred beer

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[844]

[1] After childbirth there was a rite of removing the ashes from the hearth of the house in which the child had been born.—H.W.

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the
house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the
[241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was
● [776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to
offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies
[688] are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I
was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than
twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the
[771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance
[783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation
[841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in
[843] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet
343 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears
825 could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to
flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy,
often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also
entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the
big ones.

The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of
[462] provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-
Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of
the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with
fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the
shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was
held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog
or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru
[192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real
housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing
wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title
of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also
applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat
[778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she
is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

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[192] [1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui
haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only
[262] under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests.
Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another
for fish.—H.W.

inau.[1] After the sacred brewing these *inau* were stuck in the reed 776
wall, a number accumulating in the course of time. They are now
seldom seen, but one hears that the curled shavings which still 778
hang at the junction of wall and roof are either offerings to, or
contain the *ramat* of, Kenru Katkimat.

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[1] Munro states that the *chisei-koro inau* is a twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*), similar to that shown in Pl. III, fig. 3, and he has never known an elder confuse it with Chisei-koro Kamui (see Chapter VI, p. 72, and Chapter VIII, p. 88). —B.Z.S.

342 tell the evil spirit why his presence is objectionable and that he
789 must go. Purification with the branches is thoroughly done at the
354 site of the hearth and round the tripod.[1] Chikube-ni Kamui is then
796 placed under the tripod and asked to protect the precincts of the
house while it is being built until the *kamui* are properly established. He remains on duty until the sacred fire in the new house is lighted. Then he is thanked, and given a libation and such *inau* as are usually given only to the weighty (*pase*) *kamui*. In the same way Imosh Kamui, though not an important *kamui*, is on certain occasions given *inau* as if he were one.

342 When the house has been built, before the House-Warming
796 Ceremony, Chikube-ni Kamui is gently taken out through the
778 sacred window and brought to the soul *nusa*. Laid at an angle
● 776 against the *inau* fence, with his gifts of *inau* at his side, he receives
a parting drink and word of thanks; the curled shavings are then
782 removed from his head and he is a *kamui* no more. His spirit has
returned to the god who gave it, and residual *mawe*[2] will be gradually dissipated. This is emphasized because it is the fate of all provisional *kamui* who are mobilized for service against evil spirits and given ritual dismissal when their services are no longer required. Such *kamui* are often addressed in high-flown terms, flattery being a means of ingratiation. Chikube-ni Kamui is addressed as Ainu-monka-enupuru Kamui, that is, 'Mightily Operating on Behalf of the Ainu'. Though these *kamui* are always invoked with the consent of the permanent *kamui* and usually helped by them, their *mawe* when left to itself is amoral and not to be trusted after it has done its work. I have told how two elders insisted on dismantling such *kamui* as soon as they had been photographed. Both were in a state of genuine trepidation although profuse offerings had been made to the awe-inspiring figures.

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[1] In an additional note by Munro occurs the following: 'The tripod, previously erected to indicate a dwelling with its hearth, must be removed before the purification rite is performed, for fear of contamination by the evil spirits who are being beaten about the site. Afterwards a new one, free from contamination, is set up, with lighted faggots. There it remains until the roof has
[114] been erected and thatched.' This clearly conflicts with the statement in the text. The first time Munro saw the preparation for the *Chisei Nomi* he thought the House Plot Ceremony and the Purification were one, and only after subsequent performances realized that they were separate ceremonies, the second having become habitual owing to modern conditions.—B.Z.S.

[192] [2] *Mawe* may mean odour, breath, or wind, and sometimes may be translated as magic. In this context it can be understood as superhuman or spiritual power.—N.G.M.

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

In this case the rite seems more important than the spell, for 342
when I asked Kotan-pira whether the words addressed to the evil 796
spirits were always the same, he said that verbal change did not 778
matter; the important thing was having the vigour of the magic 776
odour (*sekusa mawe eseremak koro*).

After the house had been built in accordance with the traditional 342
techniques, and protection from evil spirits assured by means of 796
the prescribed ritual, two more ceremonies were necessary before
the house-warming could take place. The brewing of the sacred [273]
beer was indispensable till the government prohibited it. This deprivation [656]
is deeply felt by the Ainu, mainly, it is always said, because
the ancestral *kamui* can no longer enjoy the offering of the [776]
ancient beverage in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never [769]
omitted at any religious festival. The importance of the ancestral
cult is demonstrated by the fact that the Ainu feel more strongly
about the deprivation on account of the ancestors than on account
of the other *kamui*. However exalted they may be, sacred beer is [273]
not considered necessary for their worship.

Inau-korashkoro means literally 'our sacred fermented liquor'. 342
It is sacred not merely because it is (or was) protected in the 796
making by *inau*, but because it was a *kamui* in its own right. That
elastic word is applied to millet and other sustaining foods, and 273
also to anything especially striking or remarkable. The sacred brew [192]
did something most remarkable, it went to the head and stirred the
heart to wondrous exhilaration. It was made, I am told, only for
religious ceremonies, and then under its inspiration the Ainu felt
at one with their gods. It is true that there was a *kamui* of doubtful [776]
character (to be mentioned later) who sometimes lurked in the
south-east corner and caused trouble on festive occasions by bemusing
some of those with weak heads, but the brew has a low
alcoholic content and could not have been entirely responsible.

Though the brew is no longer made, it will be convenient to 342
describe its making in the present tense. First an elder gives a backward-shaven 273
inau to Kamui Fuchi, burns it on the hearth and
beseeches her to protect the process from the magic of malevolent [782]
spirits and promises her the first sip of the beer.

Either of two kinds of millet, *piyaba* or *munchi*, may be used, the former being preferred. For a gathering of about fifty persons, male and female (though the women drink little) about thirty pounds of millet are used; of this about two-thirds are ground in

342 273 the mortar and the rest mixed unground with the meal. About six pounds of the mixture are boiled to the consistency of porridge, poured into a long shallow trough, and when cooled to about blood heat mixed thoroughly with the yeast.

342 A tub (*poro shintoko*) about three feet in diameter and more in
273 height, usually lacquered outside and provided with a lid, is the
usual vat, and sometimes two of these are used in case fermentation
415 in one should fail. The mixture of boiled millet and yeast, amounting to about ten pounds, is poured into the vat while warm and enough water stirred in to make it quite thin. The tub, which is placed to the south of the sacred window, rests on a layer of millet chaff about six inches deep and is kept in position with folded mats. Before the lid is closed live embers from the hearth are put in. The tub was formerly covered with deer skins, but garments have been substituted. It is further protected by the skull of an
[789] albatross, cormorant, or good fox, which has been taken to Kamui
● [776] Fuchi for her blessing. This is one of the spirit helpers mentioned above (p. 23). Sometimes swallow-wort is chewed and spat round the tub, or a piece is put on top, and sometimes a sickle is placed to frighten any evil spirits that may be hovering round. A band of twisted shavings, two tied together and called *e-ukut inau*, is put round the tub, though in some places not till after the straining process. Sometimes tassels of curled shavings are hung from the band.

Every day for about a week the tub is opened and the contents are tested. On the second day about double the quantity of mixed porridge and yeast, with water in proportion, is added, and the rest on successive days according to how the fermentation is progressing. Should it become prematurely sour some of the wrappings are removed. It is left for another week or more and is then strained.

776 Straining (*inumba*) is a ceremonial affair with a special ritual.
342 Before it begins, six beer-straining *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 3) are made.
273 Four of them are set up, one at each corner of the hearth, a fresh
778 backward-shaven *inau* is given to Kamui Fuchi, and in a short
796 prayer she is asked to protect the brew during straining and to
bless it for the good of all. After the straining these four *inau* are
[782] given some of the lees in their mouths and, after the ceremony, are
burnt. The two other *inau* are assigned to the guardian spirits of
the door.

000 At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

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372 796 782 been necessary in this case. The ancestors could only be called to the abode of their descendants by an elder who was a direct descendant. Therefore, when the new owner's father or paternal uncle is unable to attend, or is dead, the prayer to the ancestors is omitted.

[778] [776] Arrived at the house, the elder who is to perform the ceremony, and who may be the owner if the latter is an elder, prepares a backward-shaven *inau*, sits down at the hearth, salutes it with the ritual salutation (*ongami*), and does the same to Kenru Katkimat, the female spirit of the house, represented by the chisei-koro *inau*.[1]

[776] When the fire is kindled Kamui Fuchi is reborn on the hearth. She is greeted with the ritual salutation, a backward-shaven *inau* is stuck into the ashes, and she is prayed to as the Young (Peure) Kamui Fuchi. Failing the father, any good elder may say this prayer. The prayer is to the effect that the house, vouchsafed by Shiramba Kamui, from whom it has been besought, 'is now ready for Peure Kamui Fuchi, for whose arousing from rest we are reverently thankful.' She is asked to protect the new house and its inmates, and to give them health, prosperity, and many children who will grow up strong and well.

527 342 Ensconced on the hearth, the fire of Kamui Fuchi is soon employed in cooking, though there is a vague tradition that in some districts a special fire lit at the lower end of the hearth was used. An abundance of food has to be provided for the house-warming, and it was customary but not obligatory for guests to contribute. Nowadays any available food is offered, but formerly a feast consisted largely of meat and fish, fresh, frozen or dried.[2]

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[1] This *inau* is made afresh whenever the sacred beer is brewed, and must not be confused with Chisei-koro Kamui. (See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VIII, p. 88.)—N.G.M.

262 [171] [2] At present any kind of available food is offered, partly Japanese, e.g. rice and cheap cakes or biscuits. In times past when the Ainu were free to fish and hunt within the boundaries of local rights (commonly watersheds of large rivers) a feast could include a choice of: Fresh fish, frozen fish (*ruibe*), dried fish, often smoked above the fire. Fresh meat, mostly deer, sometimes sliced, dried, and hung up above the fire in the smoke. At the Bear Festival the flesh was distributed at the common meal. Liver, frozen in winter, was eaten raw. The fish usually eaten was salmon, most abundant in season, hence called *kamui chep*, divine fish. Sea trout and other fish were obtainable at one time or another, also shell-fish in places. Salmon or other roe was prized. Vegetable foods included several kinds of millet of which cakes or dumplings (*shto*) were made, besides its use in soup and the not inconsiderable amount suspended in and deposited from the sacred brew. Cakes were also made of starchy material prepared from

VII

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

(*CHISEI NOMI*)

342 527 I HAVE selected the *Chisei Nomi*, literally 'house offering', for detailed description because it includes the main features of all Ainu social and religious celebrations. It has a few special traits incidental to the occasion, but for the most part it provides a model of the exact procedure at every festival. It is a service to the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* as such forms part of all celebrations at which the mutual fellowship of gods and men is regulated by ritual, and is also a house-warming, a ceremony which must take place before a new house can be occupied or fresh occupants can take over an old house. Formerly the ritual was strictly adhered to, and even now the few elders who treasure the traditional observance of [184] detail keep to it pretty closely. In this district variants are few, and are mostly additions to the common type, as in the ritual dismissal of the bear.

[778] As previously remarked, the Ainu house is sacred. It is even regarded by many as *kamui*, not only as the shrine of Kamui Fuchi [774] but because it is pervaded by the spiritual influence of Shiramba Kamui. The latter is reminded in prayer that the house, vouch- [789] safed by him, belongs to him. A preliminary precaution against evil spirits is the shooting of arrows made of mugwort into the roof. The whole ritual clearly indicates the sacramental nature of the festival (Pl. XVI, fig. 1).

[776] After the sacred beer has been brewed and the new fire lighted, an effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui is made. Then all important *kamui* [782] are invited and given offerings, and throughout the ceremony they are believed to be present as guests. Invitations have been issued

to neighbours and friends, but acquaintances, even if uninvited, 342
are at liberty to partake of the feast, and even a stranger may be 527
admitted if he asks permission and his credentials are in order.
Before the arrival of the guests protective shavings have been
dipped in the sacred beer and the householder (wearing an embroidered
robe) and his wife have seated themselves at the places
(10) shown on the plan (text fig. 3). Behind the householder are the [778]
sacred treasures, and in the north-east corner stands Chisei-koro
Kamui which is, or rather was, made only before ceremonies for
which the sacred beer had been brewed.

Husband and wife sit on a sacred mat, and another is laid at the 342
top of the hearth (text fig. 3 at (7)), on which is placed a tray with 527
four large cups (*tuki*) of lacquer ware on ring-like saucers (*tuki-* 353
num). These cups were used formerly only for the sacred beer. A [782]
libation wand (*ikubashui*) is placed on the rim of each cup. Behind
the tray (*otchiki*) is the large lacquered vessel (*sai-shintoko*) ((6) in [415]
text fig. 3) containing the sacred beer. Nearer the sacred window
is another tray with four cups (5). In the south-east corner often [415]
stand two of the large tubs in which the beer was brewed (1). All
the food which is to be partaken of is placed on or close to the [354]
lower end of the hearth, to acquire merit from being offered to
Kamui Fuchi.

All the male guests make a sound of clearing the throat before 342
entering. They walk slowly and quietly towards the head of the 576
hearth, but not close to it, keeping on the side opposite the house-
holder, stooping the while with palms about level with the knees. 527
To walk briskly would be a breach of decorum calling for a sharp
reprimand. Ordinary etiquette forbade an Ainu, whether friend
or stranger, to approach a householder at home in anything but [178]
a slow and quiet manner, and even today, when manners are less
strictly observed, it would be highly improper to enter erect and
hastily on a sacred occasion. To be humbly reverent (*oripak*) before
the assembled gods and their worshippers is a sign of good breeding.

On reaching a spot about level with the head of the hearth, but
at a slight distance from it, the visitor turns for an instant towards
the south-eastern corner (*so-kesh*), to which he performs a partial
salutation by slightly raising his arms once or twice. This is said to [776]
be an acknowledgment of the presence of the mischievous spirit
of tipsy behaviour, but may be a survival of a ritual salutation to
the spirit of the sacred beer. A more reverent salutation is next

342 beverage may be made surreptitiously for the ancestral spirits. The
527 ceremonial dress with patterns sewn on (*kapara amip*) should have
782 only white patterns during ministrations to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-
[411] koro Kamui and the ancestors.

[292] To return to the ceremony. The elder who is to minister to
Chisei-koro Kamui is led to his corner, and he who is to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui to the top of the hearth (8). Meanwhile the householder receives a cup of beer from the housewife, sprinkles a few drops with the libation wand on each of the backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes of the hearth at (11) on the plan, and then a few more on the fire itself. He then makes salutation and the male guests follow suit. Turning the cup so that the point of the libation wand, with its sign of the tongue, is directed towards the
● [776] fire, he prays[1] to Kamui Fuchi by her titles of Iresu Kamui and
in some places Moshiri-koro. While so doing he holds the cup in his left hand and strokes it with his right, an act of salutation. He tells her that the sacred beer has been prepared by her favour for service to all the gods to whom it is about to be offered. He asks her to inspire the libation wand as her messenger so that, should the prayers be unsuitably worded, the meaning will become clear to the good *kamui*. She is also besought to be favourable to the household, to rear up good children and grant prosperity.

During this prayer the other two elders attend to their duties. The housewife takes a cup of beer to the elder near the north-east corner (4), also with a libation wand on the rim. With this he gives a few drops to the head of the effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui and sometimes a few to the adjacent floor, and addresses him in adulatory terms as representative of Shiramba Kamui, asking protection for the house and all therein. The other elder performs ritual salutation to Kamui Fuchi, receives his cup, tells her briefly that he is about to obey her behest to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui, and then departs on his mission.

With two exceptions the sacred (eastern) window is always used
[823] for passing things used in ritual, such as *inau*, beer, or the flesh of
sacrificed animals. The east stands for life[2] and the west for death,
[764] and until the sun has passed the meridian it would be most im-

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[1] Munro states that he has recorded this and other important prayers and
[114] placed them with translations in an appendix; unfortunately this appendix has
not been found.—B.Z.S.

[533] [2] An ancient song which I learnt from Rennuikesh, and which he states has been handed down in his family for many generations, tells of the rising sun

527 782 from that which follows the worship of the other gods and the ceremony of Falling Tears.

554 A sacred tradition runs—'*Anomi kamui inne, vakka uko kiyanne, uko iresu*, Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui *ne ruwe ne*', which means—'However numerous the worshipped *kamui*, together most capable, together most sustaining [maintaining] are those three.' There is no doubt that they form a group bound together not only by co-related ritual but by their intimate association in safeguarding the house and promoting the welfare of its inmates.

342 527 778 782 Offerings of beer are made and prayers said to all the *kamui* who have *nusa* along the *inau* fence. The purport of all the prayers is similar—for safety, offspring, health and good fortune—and before each prayer the recipient is addressed by flattering titles. Each rite ends with the throwing of a handful of lees as a sop to any evil spirits who may be hanging round. In the offerings to Hash-inau-uk Kamui the winged variety of libation wand is used, and this wand is not taken back through the sacred window but is tied to a strand of the embodied *inau*.[1] Some beer is left in the cup after she has had her drop and the elder his swig. An ordinary libation wand is substituted for the winged one, and young men may take a [777] sip. This is for luck or for help from the *kamui* when hunting. Prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui under his name of Pet-orun Kamui, and to his female counterpart Nai-orun Kamui. The offering to the latter is not made at the *inau* fence of Wakka-ush Kamui, but at a special *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* and one *inau* with a body and twisted shavings which is set up near water. Should the water be at a distance the rite is performed by a younger man. It must be performed before the full ritual salutations are given and [184] the Falling Tears ceremony performed. In the Nibutani district five *kamui* receive beer and one twisted shaven *inau* each before the ritual salutation, and here and elsewhere special worship is given to the eagle-owl, which receives a twisted shaven *inau*, libations and prayers at the fence of plenteous *inau* (text fig. 1, D).

● 776 782 184 A purely local *kamui*, known as the Kamui of Nai-oput (a neighbouring valley) is interesting because he is said to be the spirit ruler of Imosh Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 7). He also receives offerings

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778 [1] A similar one is used in the ceremony for Metot-ush Kamui in the ritual dismissal of the Bear.—N.G.M.

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

776 782 at the fence of the plenteous *inau*, but his *inau* is set up at the soul *nusa* or at that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

778 184 Hai-o-pira Kamui, the sword of the sword-fish, is also given libation by many Ainu in this district. In the north an *inau* is set up for him, but here he gets only thanks and beer.

Two more local spirits complete this list, though others are recognized and given the same consideration in neighbouring villages. These are Mopet-un Kamui, which is the name of a place, and Chikap-ohi-un Kamui, the name of a spot where a fabulous bird called *Furi* lived. This is supposed to have been a monstrous kind of eagle, elsewhere regarded as a man-eater, but here as friendly and helpful. In prayer these spirits are all called *Kamui Ekashi*, or divine ancestor; this may be evidence of ancestor-worship or merely of a wish to flatter them.

796 776 778 576 782 We now come to an important rite, the ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) of Metot-ush Kamui, whose *ramat* is incarnated in the bear. It must be noted that the ritual dismissal of the bear, the well-known Bear Ceremony, is the most impressive of all Ainu ceremonies.[1] In the plenteous *inau* fence are four large ancestral *inau* specially devoted to this *kamui*, and two *inau* with bodies and twisted shavings. All the *inau* at this fence are slightly higher than those at the soul *nusa* and that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and those again slightly higher than those of Nusa-koro Kamui. The reason for this is not clear; it does not indicate any intrinsic superiority of the *kamui* concerned, but the importance of the occasion, the ritual salutation.

For this rite the cup is filled to overflowing and the winged libation wand bearing the ancestral mark (*ekashi itokpa*) of the host is alone employed. The rite is performed publicly (*use ongami*) but with deep emotion, and forms the prelude to rites of a more secret character. I have been unable to get full information about these, but have been reliably told that at least four *kamui* are worshipped in secret at the second important salutation (*pase ongami*). These are Metot-ush Kamui again (but this time esoterically), the Eagle-owl, the 'Good Fox', and the Divine Wife, Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat (Woman above the clouds).

The Ainu, in this district at least, consider the special knowledge

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[1] Unfortunately, Munro's account of this ceremony has never been received, but he sent a film which was shown at the Royal Anthropological Institute on January 10th, 1933. (See Appendix II).—B.Z.S.

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and performance of each rite as esoteric. Just as no man is per- 776 ●
mitted to have knowledge of a woman's secret girdle, so no woman 778
is permitted to pry into the awe-inspiring secrets of religion, that 576
of the Divine Wife being the most secret. Its performance is carried
out under the name of Metot-ush Kamui, Ritual Salutation. Several 782
elders told me that the worship of Metot-ush Kamui is ostensibly of 796
that deity alone, but that anyone might include a *kamui* of his own 782
choosing. Those who took part in a particular worship could claim 778
mutual hospitality. This led me to make further inquiries, and I 576
found that those who worship a particular *kamui* with this ritual 614
claim descent from a common ancestor.[1] The members of the cult [601]
address each other in terms of relationship rather than those of
formal politeness. The fact that the place-name of a local *kamui* is
more prominent than its own name, always coming first in prayer,
may indicate a common local source of lineage. Nevertheless, the [597]
rite does not provide conclusive evidence of blood-relationship, for
an Ainu of good repute may be adopted by any group which
possesses a secret ritual. It should be noted that in the worship of
Metot-ush Kamui the winged libation wand is marked by the
ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*). No stranger may use the ancestral
badge but it may be given to an heir adopted by a childless man.
The sign and rite are complementary, together constituting proof
of blood relationship in Ainu eyes and justifying the warm mutual
sentiment of the group. However, the winged libation wand is not
used for the second secret ritual salutation of the *kamui*. After the
libations and prayers to Metot-ush Kamui it is returned with the
half-emptied cup through the sacred window. For the secret rites
an ordinary libation wand is used, as it is for most *kamui*. Formerly
the elder officiating at the ritual salutation stood with bare feet on
the frozen ground or snow. This ceremony cannot be performed [273]
without the sacred beer, and the government probably tolerates the [656]
brewing of a small quantity.

While all these rites are being performed outside the house, only 796
moderate drinking is allowed inside lest there should be a breach 782
of decorum before the ceremony of Falling Tears. The etiquette of 273
drinking (*iomare*) which is still strictly observed, is as follows. The 576

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[1] *Pase ongami shine ekashi shinrit uko-koro* may be translated as: 'In the ritual salutation all have one *ekashi* in common with the ancestors', and *Kamui nomi epeka u-iri Kuru* as 'On account of this *Kamui nomi* ceremony persons are of the same family'. Similar expressions are used in connection with the women's secret girdles.—N.G.M.

VIII

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

(*SHINURAPA*)

THIS FEAST is sometimes called *Pase Ongami* (great 574
ritual salutation), but is usually known as *Shinurapa*, 769
which may be translated as 'Falling Tears'. It is actually a
feast of All Souls—that is to say, it is a celebration in honour of the 776
kamui and the ancestors. Not only are the ancestors of the householder called upon but also those of all other members of the household. It always follows the ceremony of *Chisei Nomi*. Its details are worthy of record not only for themselves but for their correspondence in part with other forms of worship which suggest the existence of an ancestral cult. It is also important in that it is the only ceremony in which women hold direct communion with the kamui.[1]

We have seen that preparations are made beforehand for a feast. 574
Not only so, but part of the meal, that is the meat and vegetable 769
stew (*ohau*), is eaten before the great ritual salutation, and most of 776
the rest before the service to the dead. We may leave the question 782
whether the feast in its present form is not a fusion of two once [178]

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[1] Possession (*ituren*) might be regarded as an exception, and the employment
of women in beating out evil spirits in exorcism (*uhahih*) involves some trans- [787]
action with invisible powers. In none of these cases, however, do women actually
address such powers. The women work as assistants to the elders officiating. [562]
—N.G.M.

[789]

782 distinct celebrations.[1] What may seem anomalous is that a common
574 meal should be eaten before it is offered to the *kamui* and to the
769 spirits of the dead. But to treat these spirits with disrespect is the
776 last thing the Ainu would dream of doing, and the anomaly dis-
[178] appears when we look into the matter more closely. The food is
cooked by fire, that is to say by Kamui Fuchi, now called Abe Kamui, and by her partner or other self, Iresu Kamui. Thus all the comestibles (I am not sure about the tobacco) are ritually offered to Kamui Fuchi before they are eaten. She represents the ancestral spirits, who are often spoken of as 'Those Dwelling Beneath the Hearth' (Abe-ra-un Kamui), and it is the Ainu belief that the good things set apart for the ceremony have already been offered to the Ancestral Host. To make assurance doubly sure, however, they are taken outside for service to those whose bodies have vanished underground.

[262] Reference has already been made to the types of food eaten at these feasts. Those now considered most appropriate are a stew of meat or fish with vegetables, dumplings or cakes of millet (*shto*), fish and fish roe, often with fat, and some wild fruits such as chestnuts. All foods are placed on trays, partly on the ashes of the hearth below the fire but not at the lowest end and partly on a sacred mat close to the hearth (text fig. 4 (15)); this is an act of ritual offering. Before the great ritual salutations the householder prays briefly to Kamui Fuchi for permission to take her food. After the trays have been laid for a short time near the head of the hearth, cups or bowls of the stew are handed to all the guests in turn. The women are served after the men, first the old women sitting behind the housewife and then the younger ones on the
[273] opposite side (text fig. 3 (12 and 13)). Moderate drinking goes on but all should be quiet: *Kamui nomi teksam a more*—'At service to the gods respectful calm'.

769 The guests remain seated in order as before and preparations are
778 made for the ceremony. The *chisei-koro inau*[2] which has been stand-
782 ing on a large sacred mat (text fig. 3 (9)) is saluted by those
574 assembled and then removed to near the treasures by the north
wall, to which it will later be affixed. The old name for this pro-

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[1] The following account is local and is based on observation supplemented by information given by several of my teachers. I have omitted slight variations. —N.G.M.

[2] See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VI, p. 72.

769 kind of decoration. He waits till the women are ready with the other trays and then a small procession moves to the entrance. First
782 goes the housewife carrying a vessel with a spout, filled with beer drawn from one of the tubs. She is followed by her mother-in-law, her mother, or an aunt, with a tray of 'moist' and 'dry' lees and tobacco. Then come female relatives with the viands already mentioned, and a young woman with an ordinary and a sacred mat, and lastly the householder. All move very slowly, with bodies bent.

[576] On reaching the doorway each woman makes a salutation by slightly swinging the tray which she holds with both hands, first to the left then to the right and then upwards, while still stooping.
● [776] She thus salutes the guardians of the doorway in the proper order.
[778] We have already seen that before the ceremony two beer-straining winged *inau* had been set up for them and left there. This salutation seems another indication that the spirits of the doorway are
778 linked with the ancestral cult. The procession moves slowly by the
796 north side of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*. Here elders of
769 high repute are known to have been buried, and the site, or rather one a few feet to the north-west of it, is considered most appro-
782 priate for the ceremony. The young woman spreads an ordinary mat and lays the sacred one upon it. The other women place their trays on the mat, leaving a space on the north for the householder. He sits down; his wife kneels beside him and the other women kneel in order. The householder offers prayers and leads the service, women not being allowed to address the *kamui*. No other man may approach the spot, and it may be regarded as a special service by the women. Sometimes many of them perform it in succession. The householder performs the ritual salutation, and the women perform their own reverent salutation (*raimik*). The householder then plants the four backward-shaven *inau* in a row from north to south. He gives them some drops of beer as a libation and then makes his first prayer to the ancestors, holding the cup with the libation wand pointing towards the *inau* and stroking it with his right hand. The prayer is long and of the usual type. He asks the ancestors for welfare in the new house, and that they will give and watch over many healthy children. He tells them that he is offering beer, tobacco, cakes, lees, etc., and prays that his halting and imperfect speech may be rendered more fitting by the libation wand as messenger of Iresu Kamui. Before the prayer is quite finished he pauses to give a few more drops of beer to the *inau*. After the

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prayer he drops a little on his headband and sword. He then drinks 796
a sip and passes the cup to his wife. From a cup of heaped up lees 769
moistened with beer he places a little on the 'mouth' of each *inau*, 782
using the libation wand. In a short prayer he tells the spirits what
he has done, after which he deposits tiny portions of the offerings [776]
on the ground near the *inau*. Lastly he makes a queer little speech,
ostensibly to the ancestors, but generally regarded as intended for
any evil spirits who might intrude. Before making the speech he
takes some dry lees in his hand, and while and after speaking
sprinkles them about. All the elders whom I questioned explained
the practice by saying that it both deceives and placates envious
spirits.

We saw that the householder, after taking a sip of beer, hands
the cup to his wife. She swings it slightly upward, draws her right [576]
hand across her lip in salutation, and gives drops of beer to the
four *inau* and the ground at their feet. She again swings the cup, salutes in the same way, takes a sip and hands the cup to the next woman. She and the other near female relatives do the same and the cup is returned to the householder, who may take another sip. He gives the cup to his wife and returns to the hearth. There a fresh cup is brought to him and he takes a couple of mouthfuls. He then makes a salutation, tells Kamui Fuchi that he has obeyed her command, takes one of the two remaining backward-shaven *inau* from the hearth and puts it in the fire. At this all the men make the ritual salutation. The last *inau* remains till the end of the festivities which follow the ceremony.

Meanwhile the women at the *nusa* continue the offerings to the
ancestral spirits. When the householder leaves, his wife takes his
place. When she receives the cup from him she may take another
sip, but pours the rest of the contents on the ground. Now the cup [273]
is filled afresh for each woman. Ainu women drink little, and on
occasions such as this each one takes a sip and pours the rest
into a small receptacle (*shintoko-po*) for her husband to drink
later on.

The housewife offers food and tobacco to the ancestral spirits, placing them on the ground near the inau, and afterwards sprinkles dry lees. There is no prayer, but a woman may call the name of a matrilineal ancestress should she choose to do so. A few near relatives of the housewife, perhaps four or five, take her place in turn and perform the same rite. Those who are less closely related

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796 keep their places and put their offerings of beer and food on the
769 ground in front of the *inau*. When all have finished, the women
782 make their ritual salutations and the utensils are brought back into
the house, but the two mats are left, presumably to allow the effects
of spirit contagion to evaporate. The *inau* are never removed, but
the remains of the food are carefully collected and divided among
[789] all those in the room. The reason given is that the *kamui* have
● [776] imparted good magic to the offerings made to them, so that eating
them ensures health and longevity.

[184] At Shimokibo near Shizunai the officiating elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to each of the women in addition to the four set up by himself. Each woman plants her *inau* and calls upon an ancestress by name. This departure from the general custom is curious.

The Festivities

769 With the completion of the worship the scene changes from
574 almost church-like solemnity to unrestrained gaiety, carried by
most of the elders beyond the limit of sobriety. But the ritual is not
782 quite over; while people are clearing up inside and preparing for a
[776] good time, Mintara-koro Kamui, the guardian of the yard, is given
a little of the dry lees moistened with beer, thanked for having
performed his duties and requested to continue doing so as desired
by Kamui Fuchi. This is usually, if not always, done and I am told
that sometimes Ru-koro Kamui, the deity of the privy, is rewarded
in the same way.

There is an interval of half an hour or more between the main services and the wassail (*shi-iku*). Guests who leave without intending to return salute Chisei-koro Kamui, the householder and Kamui
[778] Fuchi, and all present do the same.

[532] The sacred mat, which, after the service, had been brought in
carefully and folded and taken to the place of the treasures, is again
placed at the head of the hearth, and the vessel of beer is removed to
a position near the sacred window and filled to the brim. The
769 householder, or whoever is master of the ceremonies, sits in his
574 place. An elder is called to the hearth, not by name, as has already
782 been remarked, but as the father of so-and-so. This elder through-
out the remainder of the festivity acts as controller of the drinking
887 (*sake-iush guru*, the person beside the liquor). He occupies a res-
ponsible position, not only as guardian of the divine liquor but as

IX

EXORCISM

(*UEPOTARA*)

THE various classes of *kamui* were described in Chapters I 776
and II, and it was noted that though the 'important' (*pase*) [782]
kamui are generally beneficent, yet they are apt to resent
disrespect or neglect of offerings. Reverence is necessary in soliciting [626]
their help; and accident, disease or other misfortune may befall
those who neglect them, or who neglect a custom or infringe a
taboo. Thus, serious illness is usually attributed to the action of [753]
some *kamui*, or to possession by evil spirits, when the victim
becomes 'tied up'.

When there is ordinary sickness the Ainu have a choice of many 753
herbs, some reputed to heal particular diseases and a few magically 755
efficacious against several. But where there is serious illness,
whether of mind or body, the older folk are quick to suspect the [757]
action of a cantankerous or malignant spirit.[1] Purification is necessary
for the expulsion of such spirits, or their influence, from
humans, places or things. *Epiru*, the general word for purification, [192]
is not used for human beings; for them *ukakik* (striking upon) or
kashikik (striking from above downwards) are the words in general
use; these terms are never used for places or things.

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[1] The causes of disease were believed to be as follows:
(*a*) The work of an evil deity (*wen kamui*) or a stubborn deity (*nitue kamui*).
(*b*) The influence of the evil spirits of sterile women (whether living or dead was not ascertained).
(*c*) Retribution for the sinful acts of ancestors.
(*d*) The action of symbiotic worms in the abdomen.
(*e*) The result of curses by someone with a grudge against the sufferer. [754]
(*f*) Possession by some spirit.—H.W.

EXORCISM

The preliminary service at the house is much the same for all *uepotara*, the chief difference being in the name of the evil spirit to be overcome. In the one I shall describe it was Pauchi Kamui, who is usually held responsible for insanity or violent hysteria. He is notorious as the instigator of epidemics of frenzied dancing. The account of a serious outbreak of dancing mania,[1] which occurred about two centuries ago, was related to me by several elders, as it had been passed down to them by their ancestors. 755 [776] [786] [173]

As in all ceremonies, Kamui Fuchi is first approached; she is told of the trouble and her help is besought. Next, Mintara-koro Kamui and Ru-koro Kamui, the spirits of the yard and the privy, are invoked, as well as Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, at their respective *nusa*. Then elaborate preparations are made by the river: first, a backward-shaven *inau* is inserted for Mintuchi Kamui, a freshwater nymph, and upstream from it six groups of four-winged *inau* are set up in the water at the river's edge. These are made of alder and are about eight inches high. The *inau* furthest upstream, the chief, is taller than the others, and has some distinguishing mark, sometimes a piece of wood tied to it to represent a sword, in this case a piece of cloth. They are called evil *inau* because they repel evil, or abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. These *inau* are made of elder and only have four wings, in distinction to other winged *inau*, which may have from six to nine. They are set at an angle so that they point towards the river. The next *inau* upstream from the chief is a backward-shaven one for Chiu ra-pe Mat, the female spirit of the undercurrent. Then comes the *nusa* of the three great Ainu *kamui*; its winged *inau* are made of willow. At the lower end of this *nusa* a sword is hung for the officiating *ekashi*; it is said to act as a messenger from Kamui Fuchi. At the upper end there is a backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Guru, the male spirit of the undercurrent. Six Houses of Evil are set up at short intervals, in a line, at a right angle to the river's edge. These are reed arches, about four feet high, with some hollow-stemmed *Polygonum sachalinensis* (*kuttara*) tied to the apex. Hollow stems of this plant are also used as traps to catch ghosts and spirits of pestilence; small boats are made of them to provide spirits with a means of return to their abode after they have been invoked in a rite. Here they serve as an exit for Pauchi Kamui when the arches are set on fire. On either side of 755 776 778 782 [824]

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[1] See Appendix, p. 160.

755 each arch a *takusa* (a bunch of grass, reeds and other herbs, suitable
● 776 for *ukakik*) is laid. Two similar bunches are put beside each of the
778 groups of *inau* along the riverside. Beside the *nusa* for the *pase*
782 *kamui* two *takusa* are laid, made of an evergreen bamboo called
[824] *huttat*. All these are switches which will be used to purify the
patient. Six water-worn stones are put near the backward-shaven
inau for Chiu ra-pe Mat.

755 The ritual is a combination of prayer and of purification by fire,
by brushing and stroking with switches of grasses or herbs, with
782 river stones and with a sword, and by lustration with water. Insane
persons, considered incurable, used to be dipped in the river, as I
learn from elders who have tried this form of purification. Psychological troubles brought on by Pauchi Kamui are regarded as diffi-
[791] cult to cure. When a female medium (*tusu*) possessed (*ituren*) by
her familiar spirit pronounces Pauchi Kamui to be the evil spirit
responsible for the disorder, a stiff fight is expected, and all resources are employed.

When the preparations are complete, the proceedings do not take long. After salutation and prayer to the water nymph, Mintuchi Kamui, the *ekashi* addresses the female spirit of the undercurrent in the same way, and afterwards the male spirit of the undercurrent. Salutations and prayers are made to all the *kamui* at their respective places, described above, and also to the chief of the 'evil' *inau*. The first arch, furthest away from the river, is set on fire, and the patient passes under it. When she has done so she is beaten six times by two women who strike her with switches of strong grass or some other herb such as *shinkep* (*Lespedeza bicolor*). This is repeated at the five other arches. At each stroke the women call softly '*fusa!*' or '*fsa!*' as a signal of expulsion.

[783] The patient then undergoes further purification at each of the
six groups of *inau* along the riverside. Two women each pick up a
switch, dip it in the river, beat the patient and afterwards throw
the switches in the river to carry away the contagion.

755 In the next procedure, which is used as a means of getting rid of ailments, especially defects of vision, the patient stands beside the backward-shaven *inau* of the female spirit of the undercurrent (Chiu ra-pe Mat). The two women take a stone in each hand and strike them together to warn the evil spirits that the spirit of the waters is about to act. The patient is stroked with the stones by

committed suicide or have been murdered or who have died in 775
great agony are said to avoid the Underworld and to wander rest- 753
lessly, seeking revenge. Dead persons or their disembodied spirits are referred to as *rai guru*, even when considered to be wandering ghosts (*tukap*). In this neighbourhood opinions are divided on the question whether the spirits of the dead are themselves responsible for epidemics or whether they merely accompany the spirits of disease (*pakoro kamui*). People are reluctant to speak evil of the dead, and even when they are held responsible it is said that they mean no harm but cannot help transmitting the disease from which they have died.

Paralysis, especially the hysterical paralyses of women, are attri- [158]
buted to possession either by disembodied spirits or by revengeful
snakes which have been killed accidentally—no Ainu would kill [776] ●
them purposely. When the trouble is due to the spirits of the dead [825]
the patient (*arakare*) usually dreams of the dead: when due to
snakes she dreams of snakes, and the dream may have sexual signi- [787]
ficance. Paralysis due to apoplexy is not explicitly regarded as the work of disembodied spirits but the method of exorcism is identical.
There are three ordinary *uepotara* performed by Isonoash Ekashi 755
for possession by disembodied spirits, and one held in reserve in case of failure. There is the river purification, the tree (*chikuni*) purification, and another in the house yard. The first is similar to that for Pauchi Kamui but differs from it in that there is no purifica-
tion by fire, no 'houses of evil'. The prayer to Kamui Fuchi is [782]
couched in milder terms; she is asked to quieten the disturbed spirit so that it may have a united mind or heart (*uko ram koro*) with good *kamui*.

There is also preparation for a curious rite to be performed when 755
the patient has returned from the river. It is intended to entice, as 782
much as to expel, the spirit. To this end some stalks of millet with the unthreshed grain attached are laid on the ashes at the lower end of the hearth before the prayer to Kamui Fuchi, whose attention is called to the 'evil provisions' (*wen haru*, literally 'bad vegetables'). Again it should be noted that the food is not bad in itself; like the evil *inau*, it is a means of getting rid of an infliction. Should there be no millet in the stalk, fishbones may be substituted. After the prayer these are laid beside the backward-shaven *inau* dedicated to the *kamui* of the privy to await the patient's return from the river.

the tail to sweep her body and purify it.[1] (See Pl. XXI, fig. 3.) 753
It would seem that the rite has a genuinely cathartic effect, and I 755
learnt from various elders that improvement usually took place 825
after a few days or even a few hours. A sick woman may ask the 158
elder for *tusu* rather than for *imu* treatment. In the *tusu* state the [778]
patient becomes possessed by the snake spirit of Kinashut Kamui. [787]
The elder consults the *kamui* before acceding to this request, and [791]
if the *kamui* approves the woman may become a medium (*tusu*).[2]

There is yet another means of curing the ailments attributed to possession by snakes, whereby a woman becomes a helper or nurse (*ikoinkara guru*), and thereby both relieves a complex and gains esteem. I am told that only women of specially good character are eligible; they become midwives, and though untrained are a great help to women in labour. The ceremonies are much like those of *imu* conversion.

There is one more exorcism, and this is interesting on account 755
not only of the means employed but of the remarkable nature of 776
the *kamui* concerned, which is a hornet. While the ordinary wasp is 825
thought to be vicious and quick to sting, the hornet (*shisoya*) is said
to be tolerant, never stinging unless provoked, but terrible when
its wrath is aroused. Even horses and bears which have disturbed
a nest are said to have been killed. Yet it is believed to be lucky to [777]
have a nest in the house, and that the inmates are never stung.

In this district and others in the south the hornet shares, though
in much lesser degree, the repute of Kinashut Kamui as a spirit
helper, but sometimes its *ramat*, indignant at being assaulted and
losing its body, takes possession of somebody and causes sickness. [753]
This is said to be cured readily, for the hornet is amenable to the
proper mode of exorcism. The following is an outline of its peculiar
features, it being understood that, as in all these rituals, the
approval of the important *kamui* must first be sought.

A backward-shaven *inau* is set up at the chaff-thrown *nusa*, then [778]
a model of a hornet's nest, called *shisoya chisei*, is made of sacred
shavings with two curled shavings attached, and this is hung on
the *inau* to absorb virtue. After this, switches for purification are [783]
made of curled shavings, and lastly some grain, rice or millet is
laid at the *nusa* ready for use. I was told that the grain is a token

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[1] For other forms of sickness and in the case of epidemics the snake effigy is woven from grass and its tail is used as a brush for purification.—N.G.M.

[2] See Appendix, p. 163.

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● 776 of the solicitude of Kamui Fuchi. The two officiating women have
825 a bracelet of curled shavings on each arm; these are also worn in
[778] other exorcisms.

The ceremony begins with a long prayer, in which flattering
755 allusions are made to the brave hornet, but Nusa-koro Kamui is
782 asked to persuade it to cease tormenting the patient. The hope is
825 expressed that the hornet *kamui* may become of one heart and
mind with Nusa-koro Kamui. A proper home has been provided
for him and he should be asked to stay there. A backward-shaven
inau is also offered to Shiramba Kamui at his soul *nusa*, but no
prayer is said to him. The women each take a small quantity of
the grain in each hand and gently stroke each side of the patient
from the shoulder down. This is done three times, the grain which
the women retain in their hands being deposited at the *nusa* after
each stroking. Then follows purification with the switches of curled
shavings, repeated three times by each woman. The nest is now
passed six times round the patient's neck to entice the hornet
spirit to enter it; it is then hung up again at the *nusa* and Nusa-
[783] koro Kamui is thanked for his help and hospitality. On returning
home the patient is purified in the usual way; she also washes her
hands and head. In the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui the officiants
did this also, but now they do not.

787 Some women claim to be possessed by the spirit of a hornet;
825 they are converted sufferers from functional ailments. One re-
776 spected medium in Nibutani is proud of her hornet guide. Kotan-
pira Ekashi told me that there is an old belief in benign as well as
harmful possession by the hornet *kamui*.

755 In this district Kinashut Kamui is called upon at the chaff-
776 thrown *nusa* to protect the community from evil or mischievous
782 spirits. In this capacity he is, like Nusa-koro Kamui, addressed as
spirit guardian of the village (Kotan-epungine Kamui). Twice
when typhoid was raging in neighbouring villages he was invoked
and his effigy was placed in the highway approaching the village;
this proceeding was considered highly efficacious. His image in
snake form, made not from curled shavings, as described above,
but from grass, is still used for the treatment and prevention of
disease in the house and to protect women in childbirth. As pro-
tector of the granary, where snakes kill the rats, he is known as
755 Pu-epungine Kamui.

844 I have examined about twenty kinds of magic to protect women

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offering of *inau* was made. If a hunter was startled he would set 224
up a *shutu inau kamui* and pray to it for aid. [782]

Another plan for dealing with wicked bears was for the hunter 825
to prevent them from tracking him by obliterating his footprints.
When a hunter came across the footprints of what by their appear- 224
ance he judged to be a wicked bear, he turned them while an elder 789
pronounced a spell. This was called *iyokot-itak*, follow-up talk. 198
Exact formulas have not been divulged, but it is confidently asserted that the bear would lose its wits, wander aimlessly about and fall an easy prey. The reversal of its footprints would upset its calculations, and the spell would follow up the deed as aconite poison does on the fatal arrow.

True-lore talk (*shi-upashkuma itak*), also useful in an emergency,
was somewhat different. This was handed down in the paternal line [611]
and communicated to a son only after he had proved himself worthy of esoteric knowledge. It is said to have differed from little talk (*pon-itak*), perhaps in being more secret. But while the spirits adjured in *pon-itak* were essentially evil, those addressed by respectable elders in true-lore talk were said to be merely mischievous. When I ventured the opinion that the distinction seemed slight, I was told that the true-lore talk could be taught at home in the
presence of Kamui Fuchi, who naturally abhors evil spirits. To [688]
utter *pon-itak* in her presence would be an act of sacrilege, certain to be followed by condign punishment.

A few elders are said to have used *pon-itak* in certain hunting emergencies, and a very few were notorious for its evil employment.[1] Such sorcerers however, while greatly feared, were regarded as having, in Christian parlance, sold themselves to the Devil. Success in anti-social activities was supposed to be punished by misfortunes including blindness, sterility and family deaths, the line of the offender being doomed to perish. Even in the chase, where black magic (*kunne mawe*) was not used by hunters, *pon-itak* as a means of bewitching bears was usually a last resort. It was a thing of dread, the mere knowledge of which was offensive to the *pase kamui* and therefore liable to have fateful consequences.

It was commonly said that an evil spirit dwelling in a marsh 776 ●
sometimes assumed the appearance of the hunter's spirit guardian 224

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[1] Munro made a special journey to Mukawa to see a sorcerer. This sorcerer had no evil power himself but employed evil spirits, and to protect himself against them carried a bone which was used by his great-grandfather.—B.Z.S. [754]

VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses.
She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'.
Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the
hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game,
the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire,
craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from
hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was,
[782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an
[845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called
true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the
[755] approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity,
the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine
(*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's
head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with
782 offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear
Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less
elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull
was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed
ritually.

784
263 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
192 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).

Hunting the Swordfish

226

The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and
not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it
early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry be-
[477] tween the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger,
for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword
through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the
crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other
hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

Blood war

partly washed off with the hot infusion; soot from the pot bottom 304
was gently rubbed in, and a cloth, usually black, was dipped in the [757]
infusion and dabbed on the wound. At the same time a form of
words *pash chi-yai, roshki, roshki, pash ren-ren* (soot enclosed re- [789]
main, soot sink in, sink in) was repeated several, usually three,
times as a spell.

The black colour of the cloth and the darkness of the infusion may have magical properties, for the Ainu know that neither the black dye of the Japanese cotton cloth nor the bark infusion could affect the colour of the tattooing to any extent.

Whether the avoidance of tattooing during menstruation was a [841]
taboo or was based on greater sensitiveness and liability to in-
flammation at that period is uncertain. Those being tattooed had
to abstain from flesh and fat, live on water for two or three days [262]
and vegetable food for a week and remain in the house for at least [784]
a week; my aged informants, never secretive about their beliefs,
regarded these merely as wise precautions to hasten healing. There was often so much swelling of the lips after extensive tattooing that eating and speaking were prevented for some days. It was rare that there was sufficient inflammation of the arms to discharge the pigment, but the scars were indelible.

The Ainu regarded tattooing not merely as beautiful but as [832]
emphasizing group solidarity and communion with their great [517]
spirit ancestress, Kamui Fuchi, whose soot protects them against
the evil spirits which, though invisible, are always near.

In the southern districts tattooing has been abandoned by [184]
general consent within the last thirty or forty years. In the northern province of Kitami it was abandoned earlier, and there old women of 70 may be seen without it or with but a tiny spot on the edge of the upper lip.

Drugs and Medicines

The usual name for aconite is *suruku*, which may mean 'great bow 278
poison'. In prayer it is called Monorushi Kamui,[1] the meaning of 776●
which is uncertain. It is a feminine *kamui* susceptible to flattery [192]

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[1] In the Sar[illegible] Basin this *kamui* is said to be the head of the aconite spirits, and to have re[illegible]d on the top of a sacred mountain near Piratori. The headman of Piratori village controlled the collection of the aconite which grew on the mountain, and which was highly prized as being extremely poisonous. The granting by him of permission to collect was accompanied by a *kamui-nomi* ritual and

278 [776] and is also called Iso-uk Kamui (game-taking) and Kamui Pase Guru (potent person). But Iso-sange Mat (game bringing-down female) is a title of Hash-inau-uk Kamui as goddess of the chase; I am told that this title is not used in prayer.

[184] In the Saru district, though aconite grows in the wilds, the favourite source was a stretch of open land near Piratori. When permission had been obtained Kamui Fuchi was besought, and [221] about the middle of September promising plants were selected. It was said that if they were gathered earlier the millet would not ripen, and a fine was imposed on the gatherer. At the place of [782] gathering, *inau* of the usual number and kind were set up for Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, who were prayed to for poison of good quality and successful results. The roots were wrapped in mugwort and hung up to dry in the rafters.

757 A kind of swallow-wort, *Cynanchum caudatum*, known as *penup* 755 or *ikema*, besides being used to make Penup Kamui, is sometimes taken by sufferers from acute indigestion, whether this is attributed to an attack by Pauchi Kamui or to some material poison. Taken in a large quantity it is said to cause vomiting and diarrhoea, and such elimination may account for its non-lethal results. However, if poisoning is diagnosed, vomiting is encouraged by giving salt, if obtainable, in strong solution, and by a physical treatment that is usually effective. The round wooden mortar is laid on its side and the patient laid across, with his head low, while one person holds him in position and two others roll the mortar to and fro. They keep chanting '*penup tambu, he mawe*; *he mawe, he ashin*', which means 'pluck out *penup*; magic, go outside'. In cases of aconite poisoning the treatment is similar but more desperate in one [782] respect. In both, Kamui Fuchi is asked to bless the treatment, but in this case Ru-koro Kamui is invoked, the patient is taken to the hearth and is compelled to swallow a mixture of water and faeces after the elder has tasted it (or pretended to). This is said to be a good emetic, which is likely enough. The patient is also rolled on the mortar, the formula being '*Topochi Kamui, he mawe, he ashin*'. *Topochi* has various meanings, but here it means aconite poison. It is said that some renowned *ekashi* had been able to eat aconite with impunity.

[776] the solicitation of Monorushi Kamui, and he supervised on the spot all collection of aconite. Each aconite plant was believed to be an incarnation of Suruk [278] Kamui.—H.W. (Watanabe, *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 262.)

XI

DEATH AND BURIAL

THE SPIRITS of the virtuous dead go to the Underworld, 775 but those of evil persons suffer in the Wet Underworld (*Teine Pokna Moshiri*).[1] There is only a limited belief in reincarnation; a few exceptionally good and gifted men are said to be granted rebirth, and an infant dying unweaned remains in the care of Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn in the womb of its mother.[2] Except in the case of old people who have lived a full life and left descendants, death is believed to be due not to natural causes but to the action of evil spirits. Kamui Fuchi and the other [776]● *kamui* whose protection is sought throughout life are not blamed [761] for death.

When a sick person is delirious, with staring eyes, plucking 763 fingers or clenched hands, the presence of an evil spirit is suspected and purification is performed. When the sufferer becomes unconscious, an elder would say a prayer to Kamui Fuchi. This, the 'self word last said' (*yai ye kesui itak*) may represent a prayer by, [782] as much as for, the dying.

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[1] The spirit of a deceased person arrives first at a spot in the Underworld (*Pokna Moshiri*) where the road forks. One fork leads to the village of the deities (*Kamui Kotan*), the destination of the good, and the other to the Wet Underworld (*Teine Pokna Moshiri*), the destination of the bad. The spirit is led to one of these two by a dog which is under the direction of Kamui Fuchi (Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-lore*, London, 1901, and *Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol 2, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Munro states that the Ainu did not believe sexual intercourse to be the direct cause of pregnancy, but that it opened the door to the return of a departed [842] soul. However, if such a belief were general it would be in contradistinction to the statement above, that only certain exceptional people experienced reincarnation. It is probable that either or both beliefs were held partially.—B.Z.S.

DEATH AND BURIAL

774 There is a distinction between *ramat*, which as we have seen is
775 spirit or spirit power, and *tukap*, ghost; at least, most of the elders
of my acquaintance deny that they are the same. *Tukap* (literally
'double-skin') is an appearance which may be caused by the *ramat*[1]
of the person concerned, but is usually put down to *turenbe*, the
two kinds of influence, good and bad, responsible for human
behaviour. The good influence accompanies the personal *ramat*
to the place of the ancestors, so that the ghost nearly always comes
from the bad influence. A ghost is very rarely seen by anyone when
awake, but may appear in a dream either to convey a message from
a departed spirit or to bring some intimation from Kamui Fuchi or
another important *kamui*. The *ramat* of the sleeper may then go
forth and undergo strange experiences. When it returns the sleeper
[828] wakes; if it fails to return he dies. It is therefore dangerous to
arouse a sleeper suddenly; he dies if his soul is not at hand.

775 When an Ainu was killed by another or committed suicide, his
674 soul was supposed to harbour a grievance, and this might be mani-
762 fested in the appearance of a ghost, in a 'bad dream', or more often
828 in spirit possession (*rai kamui shikare*). Paralysis and rheumatism
were generally attributed to a cantankerous dead person. Smallpox,
787 the most dreaded of plagues, though chiefly inflicted by Pakoro
753 Kamui, was, as we have seen, also thought to be due to the action
of lost souls, tragically compelled to accompany the spirit which
had destroyed their bodies.

776 On the other hand evil spirits might attach themselves to the
dead body, to its soul, or to the evil influence, and work mischief.
775 A sign said to be specially ominous is the erection of the penis
[826] after death. In the case of a young man who was found drowned
the condition is said to have persisted for two days after death.
[766] In such a case the body was purified, and the trusty *shutu inau*
[783] *kamui*, made of elder, requisitioned to ward off further attacks.
766 Formerly the body of an Ainu dying by accident was buried near
the place where it was found. A tent of matting was made on the
spot, but the funeral service was performed in the house.

000 The following is a description of funeral customs and rites

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[1] According to some Ainu, human souls become either *ramat* or *tukap*. The soul of a good-tempered man becomes *ramat* and goes to the other world, while that of an ill-tempered man becomes a *tukap* and haunts this world, harming the living. According to another opinion, however, these supernatural beings are to be distinguished from human souls (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 3, p. 686).—H.W.

764 to serve the *ramat* of the dead. The results of inquiries in different
[774] parts of the Hokkaido indicate that most Ainu still make lavish provision for their departed relatives. The following lists include things which formerly were, and for the most part still are, considered indispensable for adult Ainu.

Grave-goods for men include: a bow with arrows in a quiver; a spear and a fish-spear with hook; fish-hooks and lines; a knife (*makiri*); a heavy knife bevelled on one side[1] (*tashiro*); a sword; flint and steel with tinder (now a box of matches); a pipe and tobacco; spare shoes, leggings and working clothes; a feeding-bowl and chopsticks; (food may be given in some places, but is generally thought unnecessary).

[775] There is no libation wand; Ainu souls, having become *kamui*,
[776] get libations from the living, and prayer is no longer necessary.
● Kamui Fuchi looks after them and conveys requests.

Grave-goods for women include: a loom (*attush karap*); a spindle (*kanit*); thick needles for shoes and thinner ones for clothes; various kinds of thread; a chemise (*mouri*) and two other spare garments; shoes; an iron pot, a bowl, a spoon and a cooking-spoon; for an old woman usually a pipe and tobacco and now matches; a knife and a sickle; a digging-stick or pick (*shittap*) made from a branch or the antler of a stag. Many of these objects are scarce and difficult to replace; their inclusion in the grave-goods is evidence of the strength of the ancestral cult.

Burial Rites and Customs

The wrapped corpse is attached by the hempen straps to the carrying-pole (*chihoma-ni*), an oak or ash sapling. When this mode of burial is followed the corpse leaves the house feet foremost and,
[178] it is said, was formerly carried to the grave in this way. Now that coffins are in fashion it is often turned round outside the house to
[184] go head first. At Piratori the body still goes feet first, but at Nibutani, three miles away, the head faces the cemetery. Perhaps this is because here the cemetery is to the east, so the feet are to the west.

Burial takes place after the sun has passed the meridian. At funerals for both sexes a close female relative leads the procession, carrying a small lacquered vessel for water, another related woman

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[412]
[844]
[1] This shape recalls that of obsidian knives, and it was interesting to learn from Rennuikesh that in the north it was used to cut the umbilical cord. —N.G.M.

elaborate carving were set up for notables. In Nibutani some posts 764
six to eight inches in diameter may be seen, but generally they are 778
not more than three or four inches in diameter and about five feet [184]
high. In most districts the top of the post for men is pointed like
a spear, with a bevelled edge; that for women has a flat circular [532]
top with a perforation to which three bands of black cloth are
attached. These may be sexual symbols. All posts have a lacing
cord wound round them.

The posts for both sexes have black rings round them, and there [531]
are black markings in the slit cut in the top of the post for males.[1]
These markings are made with live embers from the hearth. Kamui
Fuchi is besought to endow Irura Kamui (Guide Kamui) whom [776] ●
she has deputed to act on her behalf, with *ramat* to guide the [774]
deceased to the ancestors.

Another prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui at the stream [782]
where water is drawn to fill the vessel carried in front of the body
on the way to the grave. An elder asks for special *ramat* to accompany and guide the deceased. I have heard the title Irura Kamui
applied to Wakka-ush Kamui. Small streams supplying domestic [823]
water are regarded as feminine and in this aspect water given by
Wakka-ush Kamui is *nupuru tope a e-urespa* (mysterious together
up-raising milk).

This water is used in two rites. First some of it is poured out 764
on the earth contained in the two food-bowls which have been 778
placed at the foot of the post. The lid of the lacquered vessel is
then crushed on top of the post so that the encircling rim falls to the
ground; the rest of the water is poured over the post, and the empty
vessel is lifted with both hands, inverted over the post, and suddenly
forced down so that it lies with the rim of the lid round the post.

By this ritual the grave-post is permeated with *ramat* and is [774]
regarded as Irura Kamui, and the *ramat* of the broken vessel is [776]
free to serve the spirit of the dead. Irura Kamui is supposed to see
the soul safely off on its journey, to guide it on its way, and to
guard it against interference from, or temptation by, evil spirits.
The ritual is designated by a phrase only used in service to the
dead—*wakka-eshit tomte* (well prepared).

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[1] In some districts the mark is made with charcoal from an elder tree, which [184]
was often used as a charm against evil spirits. It is said that without the mark
the soul cannot go safely to the place of the ancestral spirits (Natori, *Whale
Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, pp. 161–2, Sapporo, 1945).—H.W.

DEATH AND BURIAL

782 778 764 ● 776 Irura Kamui is invoked for another purpose. If a dead man has harmed others in some conspicuous way, and there is apprehension that his *ramat* may be unable to go directly to the spirit village, a *shutu inau kamui* is made from elder wood, at the house, before the funerary rites begin. Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui are invoked for this effigy, which is placed beside the corpse near the wall. Just before leaving it is set up in the ashes of the lower hearth, facing Kamui Fuchi, who is besought to prevent the evil influence (*turenbe*) from leading the *ramat* of the deceased astray. The effigy, which is now looked upon as Irura Kamui, is then taken by a near relative and carried to the grave beside the body.
[783] When the grave has been purified the effigy is taken a short distance to the east of the cemetery. There, after thanks have been given to Shiramba Kamui for bestowing the elder tree *kamui* and to the effigy itself, the latter is dismantled and thrown to the east. There is no parting gift to this Irura Kamui, as to other *shutu inau kamui*.

764 778 In the next rite, the grave-post ceremony (*kuwa amusa*), weeping relatives kneel or sit in turn at the foot of the grave-post, clasp it with loud lamentations, take mud from the bowls, rub it between the hands as if in salutation, and besmear the lower part of the post
[776] by stroking it downwards with both hands. The grave-post is re-
[55i] garded not only as Irura Kamui but as *shiri-shiroshi*,[1] that is to say a symbol of the body. It used to be taboo to mention the name of a dead person, though permissible to speak of his or her *shirosh*.

[593] This ceremony is performed only by the nearest relatives or, sometimes, with permission, by a close friend. Those taking part clasp and fondle the grave-post. A father takes first place in performing the rite for a son and a son for a father or mother, but for a daughter the mother's brother leads; the father leads only if the mother has no brother. This coincides with the order prescribed for relatives sitting by the body in the house.

765 *Rites and Customs After Burial*

While the mourners are at the grave, those left at home clean the house and utensils and prepare a last common meal. This is called

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[192] [422] [1] *Shiri* means land or earth, *shiroshi* means a mark. Certain incised marks are called *shiroshi*. These are put on arrow-heads and are not to be confused with *itokpa*.—H.W.

DEATH AND BURIAL

765 Another custom to confuse the departed spirit was observed.
783 Some days after the funeral the house and its contents were again
cleaned. Chisei-koro Kamui was removed from the north-east to
the south-east corner and all the treasures were moved from the
[778] north to the south. A backward-shaven *inau* was set up in the
south-east corner of the hearth instead of in the north-east. These
things were replaced after a few months, the spirit of the departed
being then less likely to return.

[789] Ashes thrown about the house, at the entrance, and in the yard,
[775] are believed to repel the spirit of the deceased and to keep away
● [776] *wen kamui.*

There was an old custom of *chisei-a-raire* (putting the house to
768 death), that is to say burning it at the death of an old woman if she
had been the chief occupant. I was told that the reason for this
was to provide a house in the underworld for her occupation. It
was unnecessary to do this for a man as he would be able to provide
768 one for himself. Although the custom has lapsed, at Mukawa a
184 model house is made and burnt for the spirits of the dead. It is
about six feet by ten, with posts stuck into the ground. It has a
178 hearth with a fire, a frame over it from which a pot is hung, and
some food is cooked. Kamui Fuchi and Shiramba Kamui are
prayed to, the former to ensure that the house is safely delivered
to the departed spirit. I am told that in that district the term Pokna
Moshiri, Underworld, is not used; the dead are said to go to Kamui
Kotan.

789 *Variants in Funeral Customs*

775 In the north there are some differences in funeral customs. Rennui-
184 kesh Ekashi told me of a device, the ghost tube, to induce a wander-
ing or refractory spirit to re-enter the grave, and made one for me
(Pl. XXIV, fig. 4). It is made of *kuttara*, and is sharpened at one
end for insertion in the soil. Near the top, under the joint, is an
opening. The tube is planted in the road some distance from the
grave, with the opening towards the grave and the back towards
the house. The spirit is adjured to enter and take the short cut to
the nether regions. The same device is sometimes used when an
[731] epidemic threatens to invade the village; the tube is planted in the
road by which the approach of the epidemic is feared, and a sickle
is placed behind it.

DEATH AND BURIAL

Other differences are as follows. Dried fish, an essential funeral 764
food at Mokoto and Pihoro, is not eaten at Shiranoka. Food is not 184
offered to the corpse but placed on the hearth, and the deities Abe- [262]
ochi Ekashi and Fuchi Kamui and the spirits in Pekere Moshiri,
called lighted world by Monkaro Ekashi, are relied on to provide
it. Some stitches are removed from the garment for the corpse and [776]
only one knot is permitted in fastening it. A black-and-white
mourning cap is fastened with wooden buttons which are broken.
The mat is fastened after lacing with arrow-shaped buttons. They
differ slightly according to sex and are probably intended as
amulets for the dead. All grave-goods are broken at the grave.
The sword, damaged or broken, is tied in the burial mat reversed,
that is with the handle towards the feet. A Japanese sword-guard [177]
(*tsuba*) is sometimes placed with the corpse of a woman to give
her strength and courage in her new surroundings. The common [264]
meal is eaten after the corpse has been laced up in the mat. Two
women with garments reversed take food left over from the common meal and leave it on the ground at a safe distance from the house on the way to the grave.

The body is taken to the grave feet first. It is usual to halt
occasionally and sprinkle some of the water, carried for the grave-
post rite, near the head to refresh the departed. The grave-post is
called 'wood person' (*ni-kuru*). At Pihoro the carrying-pole is
usually set up in place of the grave-post, which was formerly
reserved for Ainu of special standing. The forms of the posts [778]
differ from those in the south. The top of the male post resembles
the letter Y, with a string of black cloth attached to one arm. Below there is carving and, it is said, an ancestral mark. The top of the female post is like the letter T, with two strips of cloth and no carving. Huge carved posts were formerly in vogue at Moshoto and other places in the north.

The grave is called earth-boat (*toi-chip*), a name which may be associated with myths of spirit boating in the heavenly river. Earth is heaped at the edges of the grave with branches and brambles to protect it. Relatives and mourners each throw in a handful of earth, and this is called earth scattering (*toi-charapa*). The farewell address here is given at the grave.

Near relatives returning from the grave with garments reversed 765
take them off and shake them thoroughly outside the house, but 184
don them again in the reversed manner. Rennuikesh says that [291]
[302]

a tidal wave or a conflagration and repel the *kamui* of small- 292
pox.[1] 789

No woman may marry a man whose mother has the same type [582]
of *kut* as herself. This was confirmed by further investigation, both by Munro himself and later by Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura. (See *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 187.)

Munro discovered five more types, respectively associated with 292
Korokeu Kamui, the wolf; Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui, 789
fox; Kapachiri Kamui, eagle; Moyuk, badger or racoon, and Isepo 776
Kamui, hare, the members of which were said to be protected from the occurrence of hare lip.[2] In one letter Munro mentioned a girdle associated with Kamui Fuchi, and two of the girdles he [126]
collected are labelled 'attributed to Kamui Fuchi'. However, as all women believe themselves to be allied to the fire goddess, who gave instructions for the making of the girdles, the possibility of these specimens being associated with theriomorphic *kamui* as well as Kamui Fuchi is not excluded. In prayer to Kamui Fuchi peti- [782]
tioners describe themselves as her grandchildren, and Munro frequently refers to her as 'the Great Ancestress, supreme over the ancestral cult'. She is invoked by elders before any other *kamui* is approached, and her special backward-shaven *inau* are given her on all ceremonial occasions. The hearth is sacred to her and is her resting place in every home. She is revered as a 'weighty' *kamui*—perhaps the most important of all—but it is not clear that she is regarded by men as the ancestress of all Ainu in their ancestral cult.

The wearer of the Rep-un Kamui (grampus) *kut*, a woman of about 85 years old, told Munro that the younger sister of the grampus *kamui* married an Ainu, and she regarded her as an ancestress. It should be noted that all *kamui* associated with the *upshoro-kut* are members of the Ainu pantheon as well as being specific to certain matrilineal kin groups, and all except Kamui Fuchi and Wakka-ush Kamui, the deities of fire and of fresh water,

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[1] When Munro's house was burnt down he did not know of the power that women were able to exercise by means of their *kut*, but he noticed that a group of women about fifty yards away stood waving their arms—presumably driving away the fire by means of the power they exercised on account of their *kut*.

[2] Members of the Isepo *kut* lineage are said to be of lower status than the other *kut*. A legend states that a young hunter saw a beautiful maiden weaving a cord in the forest. She was overcome by shame at being seen by a man while [173]
performing her secret task. She was obliged to marry him to hide her shame, and she became Isepo Kamui.

789 are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain
● 776 information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the
[123] number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any
information indicating whether one deity was associated with more than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her
[825] *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without
[841] it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile
demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a
[791] woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near
[688] him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman
were found guilty she would be punished.

126 With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women
123 informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were
292 woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of
the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to
789 Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum
(Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

292 When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he
789 was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence
of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness
[582] of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or in-
[887] vestigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that
the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

114 These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal
614 clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis
174 and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in
existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

organization due to modern conditions, but I wish to show that 769
the Ainu as described by Munro have retained many of the reli- 551
gious beliefs and cults which had been associated with their old life [182]
as hunters and fishers. Munro did not synthesize the evidence he
had observed for the ancestor cult; it was probable that the Ainu
reticence on the subject prevented him from discussing the matter
with the elders. However, I have been able to put together notes
from his own observation which show not only the importance of
ancestor worship but its foundation in territorial patrilineages.

In the esoteric form of worship to the *kamui*, they are addressed
only by place-names—unfortunately, examples are not stated. It
has been noted in Chapter VI that the spirit of an ancestor can
only be approached by a direct descendant. At the new fire cere-
mony, preparatory to the occupation of a new house, if the house- [782]
holder is too young to pray to his ancestors and invite them to the
new house, his father or his father's brother will perform this duty.
If no direct descendant is available the prayer to the ancestors must
be omitted.

Men who believe themselves to be descended from a common 614
patrilineal ancestor have the same type of badge (*itokpa*) (see
Chapters III and VII). This is not secret; it is worn on the head- 301
dress and is represented on certain other objects.[1] The badges are
handed down from father to son, and if a boy is adopted he must [428]
be given the badge of his adoptive father. These badges represent,
in highly stylised form, animal *kamui* who are believed to have
rendered assistance to the ancestors. The same animal may be
associated with several different *ekashi-ikir*, but there is no indica-
tion that there is any social or quasi-kinship bond between such
groups.

Sapa-un-pe (literally thing on the head), a form of men's head- 292
gear, was indispensable for religious ceremonies, for special solici-
tations to good spirits and for protection against evil spirits. It was
made of twisted shavings, strengthened by pieces of cloth and
decorated with loops of brocade (see Pl. I, and Pl. XXXII, fig. 1).

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[1] Mr Watanabe does not consider the badges worn on the headdress to be
itokpa, but he does not state how they differ from them. He says that the Ainu
recognize two kinds of *itokpa*: the *ekashi itokpa* to which Munro refers above,
associated with patrilineal descent, and the *kamui itokpa*. Mr Watanabe states [184]
that *kamui itokpa* are specific to the *kamui* invoked, and are used only in the
Kitami and Kushiro districts. However, it will be seen that the *kamui* to which [776]
he refers are indeed those associated with the ancestral cult.

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Reference must be made to the secret worship on the occasion 614
of the *pase ongami*. At Nibutani it was performed under the auspices 796
of Metot-ush Kamui, and Munro states that at least four other 776
kamui were worshipped on this occasion. One informant told him
that the *kamui* he worshipped had been revered in his patrilineage
for fourteen generations. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui nomi*
ritual differs according to the different *ekashi-ikir* taking part in it.
Mr Kubodera states that the *kamui* for whom *pase ongami* is performed
differ in every patrilineage, and that they are so sacred that
they are never mentioned outside the lineage. These observations [422]
of Mr Kubodera give significance to Munro's statement (Chapter
III, pp. 37–8) concerning the use of the *ekashi itokpa* in the [532]
Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. 'A male ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*)
is incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui.
. . . Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the
bear is displayed.' Thus, a link is suggested between the ancestry of
the bear cub killed and the patrilineage of the elder who has reared
the cub and carries out its ritual dismissal.

The importance of the bear deity cannot be over-emphasized; 825
bear meat was the most esteemed food. The Bear Ceremony— 796
actually the ritual killing of a god—was a highly important rite
performed in every *kotan*. A cub was captured, and treated with 776
great respect until it had grown old enough for its ritual dismissal.
Munro witnessed this ceremony many times, and it is most unfortunate [114]
that his description of it should have been lost. The bear
cub has been treated with the respect due to a god since the time
of its capture; it is believed to appreciate its ceremonial death, and
so to be ready for its *ramat* to reincarnate in another bear who will
also be caught, worshipped and killed in the locality, thus providing
the same patrilineage with food.

Kotan has been translated 'village' when the local settlement 776
only is indicated, but it is clear that the word had a wider meaning 795
in former times, and, as will be seen, still has in some contexts at 769
the present day. According to Munro (Chapter II, p. 22) the cult 825
of the eagle owl, known as Kotan-koro Kamui (Village-Owning [621]
Kamui) is prevalent in all localities, with 'varying importance'. He
is sometimes referred to as Kotan-koro chikap ekashi Kamui (Village-Owning
Divine Ancestor). At Mokoto in the north he is given
special honour on festive occasions. At Nibutani, however, he
was given a small offering compared with that of other *kamui*

795 worshipped at the same time, but notwithstanding this apparent
769 neglect he was held in such awe that his skull was not used as a
825 protector (*shiratki*), other birds being treated with sacred shavings
● 776 and used in his place. In explanation, Munro suggested that the eagle owl might be a 'deity particular to certain Ainu'. Apparently he did not realize the importance of his own suggestion, founded as it was on a chance observation. However, when considered in conjunction with Mr Kubodera's observation that in the Saru dis-
[184] trict every family worshipped two 'weighty' *kamui*, one of which was always Metot-ush Kamui, and that of Mr Watanabe in which he noted that the *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the *ekashiikir* of the worshipper, Munro's observation has considerable importance and throws fresh light on the Ainu ancestral cult. Thus, with his other somewhat cryptic remark: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent', he brings forward both positive and negative evidence that the bear and the eagle owl,
[778] both important *kamui* for all Ainu, are worshipped in the ancestral cult of specific localities, and also that the *itokpa* are symbols of the
[614] patrilineal cult.[1] Further, the territorial character of the patri-
[423] lineages in the north is established by the information given above by Rennuikesh.

795 Batchelor states that Kando-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Sky)
769 was also addressed as Kotan-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Village)
776 as was seen in Chapter I, p. 12, but unfortunately, there is no in-
114 formation to indicate whether the use of this title was common to all Ainu or limited to certain localities.[2] Although Batchelor was mistaken in considering this *kamui* to be a supreme deity, it is significant that the 'Possessor of the Kotan' epithet connects the *kamui* of the sky with that of a local group, and thus with the ancestral patrilineal cult.

795 Another indication of the importance of the *kotan* to the patri-
769 lineal ancestral group is seen in No. 10 of a series of invocations to
614 various *kamui* for aid in difficult childbirth (see Appendix, p. 166).

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782 [1] It is unfortunate that the evidence we have does not indicate whether the
845 Bear Kamui was associated with the ancestral cult in the Saru district only, or
[184] generally among the Ainu. Munro states that in the north Metot-ush Kamui was sometimes called Iworo Kamui; thus he is identifying the Bear with a territorial patrilineal group.

[2] I would like to suggest that the use may have been limited to certain territorial patrilineages.

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This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown 795
nusa, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important 769
elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan 614
Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). 782
Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, 845
p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown
kamui (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in [184]
certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below),
territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the
ancestral cult.

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession 622
follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was 182
called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro
was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. [681]
Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that
since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting
and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated.
Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal [621]
family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8
Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged 621
with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights 423
in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring [224]
bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons
not belonging to these groups could not become members of
the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given
its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted.
Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain [428]
exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son.
These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on
the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite
poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another
kotan without permission.

Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land 621
for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, 423
but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found 182
the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was [657]
associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's [114]
somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity
particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear [776]
deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*. [769]

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769 [778] [301] Munro states that the 'disembodied ones' (*Anaishiri*) are the dead in the ancestral line (*shinrit*). He suggested that all *shutu inau* were representations of ancestors, and he considered them to be effigies.

● [776] Most of the headband-badges have reference to the same animal spirits which are also associated with the women's *kut*.

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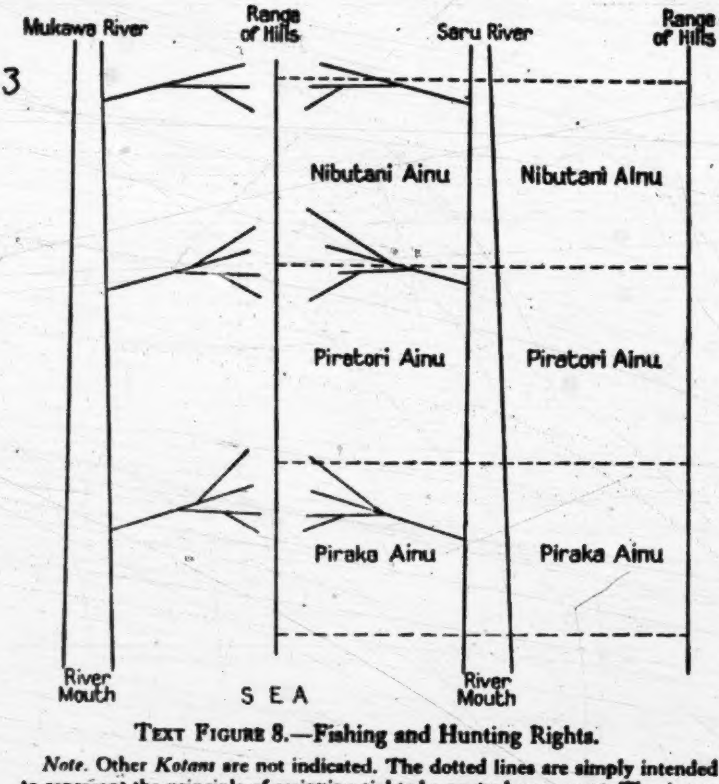
Mukawa River
Range of Hills
Saru River
Range of Hills
Nibutani Ainu
Nibutani Ainu
Piratori Ainu
Piratori Ainu
Pirako Ainu
Piraka Ainu
River Mouth
S E A
River Mouth

TEXT FIGURE 8.—Fishing and Hunting Rights.

Note. Other *Kotans* are not indicated. The dotted lines are simply intended to represent the principle of assigning rights by mutual agreement. The watersheds form the boundaries.

776 To sum up:

769 614 Among the large number of *kamui* associated with the needs of all Ainu, and appealed to by all for their help, are some who receive special worship from the men of certain patrilineages and are

associated in these lineages with the ancestor cult.[1] These *kamui* 776
receive esoteric ancestral worship as well as the worship paid them 769
by the whole population. 614

A number of the *kamui* associated with the patrilineal ancestral 776
cult are also associated with some of the women's matrilineal kin
groups and are worshipped by the women of such groups sepa- 769
rately. These women's matrilineal kin groups and the men's patri- 611
lineages worshipping the same *kamui* seem to be quite separate, and there is no hint of exogamous prohibition between them. Each sex worships separately, and both regard this worship as ancestral and secret. In each group the members of one sex only recognize kinship obligations and render one another mutual aid.

One *kamui* stands in a special relationship to women, Kamui 769
Fuchi. She resides in the hearth of every Ainu home, and all 776
women regard her as their own ancestress. She acts as intermediary
between the elders and all other *kamui*. When any *kamui* is in- [782]
voked, the elder first prays to her and offers her an *inau*. There is [778]
no evidence that she has an *itokpa* or other sign to show that she
is especially attached to any patrilineage.

The patrilineages are territorial corporate groups, formerly own- 614
ing defined areas where they held the sole rights of hunting, fish-
ing and collecting.[2] The matrilineal kin groups are scattered, but 611
are bound together by ties of mutual obligations. Each group wor- 769
ships separately chosen members of the Ainu pantheon closely [423]
associated with its own ancestors.

It is difficult to classify the structure of the Ainu social system. 611
It is not a double unilineal descent system (as I once supposed)[3] as

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[1] Professor Fortes has drawn my attention to the similarity of this condition to that of the Yoruba, among whom the gods (*orisha*) are believed to have been originally ancestors. Any one of these gods may be worshipped by certain lineage groups or by individual members of different groups. These gods are common to all Yoruba, but particular lineages, or individuals, select an individual god for special worship (Bascom, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of South Africa*, Part IV). [171]

[2] Mr Watanabe, between 1954 and 1957, carried out further investigations in Tokapachi district and obtained more information concerning the old hunting and fishing areas, including the salmon-spawning beds and aconite gathering localities. His work shows the importance of the patrilineages as corporate groups.

[3] See footnote 1, p. 145. See also *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1950: Daryll Forde, *Double Descent Among the Yakö*, pp. 285–332, and S. F. Nadel, *Dual Descent in the Nuba Hills*, pp. 333–359.

APPENDIX I : Invocations to the Kamui for Help in Cases of Severe Illness

THE following notes, legends and invocations, with the Ainu originals which Munro took down from dictation, were among the papers brought to me by Signor Fosco Maraini in 1960. The Ainu versions are deposited with the Royal Anthropological Institute.—B.Z.S. 114

Translation of *Upashkoma* (traditional lore):

Concerning the origin of fire and diverse deities, including Pauchi Kamui who started an epidemic of Dancing Mania among the Ainu. 539

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In the beginning of Ainu Land, Moshiri-kara Kamui [the world-creating deity] originally caused the poplar tree to grow before all other trees. So the poplar wood was then used for fire-making [by friction], but fire was slow to come forth. Thereupon, the god, being angered, blew with his mouth upon the *retara karapash* [the white friction powder first resulting from the rub of the fire-sticks], which flew like a rising flock of birds and became Pauchi Kamui. Fire, failing to come forth from the *kunne karapash* [the subsequent black powder charred by friction], the god, enraged, blew by mouth upon it, and it was as a rising flock of black birds. This thing became Pakoro Kamui [the god of pestilence]. Then *Karasoho* [the passive piece of the fire-drill] was named the strange world powers of evil [Moshiri Shinnaisam], and became that harmful deity. Then the *katchi* [the active stick] was named Iwai-etunnai [the distant and abhorrent thing], an evil deity. Then the Chikisa-ni [a variety of elm tree] was taken in hand for fire-making. The white powder became Niso Sanke Mat[1] [female brought forth from the *niso* or the passive piece of the drill]. Then from the black powder fire came forth. Then from the lower piece Kamui Fuchi emerged. Then the active fire-stick became Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi[1] [the guardian of the village community].

Thus very ancient is Pakoro Kamui. Pauchi Kamui,[1] being a deity of no grave importance, gets no *inau*.

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[1] Footnotes concerning Niso Sanke Mat, Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi and Pauchi Kamui, which were indicated, have not been found.—B.Z.S.

dancing together they kept up their frenzied saltations to the point of 158
complete exhaustion. Some are said to have died from fatigue, others 786
to have danced into the hills and forests, sometimes perishing there.
Discarding clothes, even women are said to have danced naked or almost
so, whereas under normal conditions Ainu women would have killed
themselves rather than expose their persons. Apart from feminine
modesty, this is credible, since every Ainu woman wore a secret girdle.
. . . But prohibitions counted for nothing while mob contagion pursued
its flighty course. As in Europe, sexual licence is said to have occurred.
. . . I was told by an *ekashi* that hunting, fishing and house-work were
neglected, and abandoned children and adults died from inanition. For
the time being, the established order of customs and mutual relations
was disorganized. Wherever the epidemic spread, the same phenomena
prevailed, closely resembling those in Europe but seemingly much
exaggerated.

What circumstances conspired to start that amazing bolt from self-
control and social restraint? The Ainu attribute it to a mischievous [776] ●
spirit, Pauchi Kamui, glamouring them and enticing them to their
doom . . . but modern psychology teaches us to examine the conditions
which may lead to emotional outbursts. The dancing mania of the Ainu 158
followed upon an experience of enforced servitude . . . when their
island came under the domination of the Matsumae daimyos. . . . Its 786
resources were exploited by commandeering the Ainu—young women 648
as well as men—for fishing and other enterprises, while those permitted
to hunt had to pay heavy tribute in skins. . . . The Ainu, poorly armed
and undisciplined, had no chance against samurai, whose swords put
the fear of death on all who did not obey. . . .

Imu. The following is compiled from Munro's notes:

Munro studied twelve cases of *imu*, a form of psychoneurosis com- 158
mon among women. The usual symptoms are: eye trouble, headaches, 755
neuralgia, and functional paralysis, accompanied by dreams and com-
pulsive actions. The usual procedure is for a woman to consult a *tusu*, [791]
and a frequent diagnosis is that the illness is due to possession by an [753]
evil snake spirit. In that case, after Kamui Fuchi has been invoked, the
snake spirit is called, either as Kinashut Kamui or as Nusa-koro Kamui. [776]
In the north, transmutation to *imu* condition may be sudden: in the [778]
south the process is more gradual. A snake image is made of curled
shavings, and purification is performed with it (see Pl. XXI, fig. 3).
When exorcism is finished, the subsequent outpouring of emotion is
comparable to conversion. The patient is considered cured, but she 158
retains *imu* behaviour. This behaviour (see Chapter IX, p. 108) is said
not to be permanent, but in the twelve cases Munro examined it

APPENDIX I

A Series of Fourteen Invocations

782 845 776 755 This series of invocations deals with appeals for help to the *kamui* in difficult or protracted labour, and presumably, when the help is granted and the child is born, the series need not be completed. No. 3 of the series is missing. It is an invocation to Nusa-koro Kamui asking him to tell Kinashut Kamui to expel the *wen kamui* obstructing the passage of the child.

It will be noted that the first in the series is to Kamui Fuchi; she cannot come in contact with the impurity of birth, so she is told that her assistant Uari Kamui is anxious, and she is asked to summon, in due course, all the other *kamui* who can help. She is told that the gifts of offerings [*inau*] should surely stir them to action. They must drive away the evil *kamui*. The second in the series invokes Uari Kamui directly. The method of calling an important *kamui* first, and then his assistant, is repeated in the case of Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui [Nos. 3 and 4], and again when 'the spider' Ashke Tanne Mat is called [Nos. 10 and 11]. In No. 12 Wakka-ush Kamui is called before the fresh-water crab, Ami Tanne Mat, is invoked.

782 1. *Innono itak (invocations, lit. 'prayer-talk') to Kamui Fuchi*

845 539 755 776 Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, as this is a painful and difficult labour Uari Kamui is disturbed and anxious. Please send a message in haste to your higher and lower assistants in their proper order. The gift of *inau* with the message to *kamui* of courage and feeling will surely rouse them to activity [lit. 'wake them up']. Usually the pains are gentle and easy. But when any evil spirit [*wen kamui*], full of malice, puts on his wicked magic, labour continues difficult. With your spirit helpers, the brave *kamui* Mintara-ush Guru and the brave *kamui* Ru-koro Kamui [gods of the precincts and the privy, respectively], whoever these *wen kamui* [evil spirits] may be; with these brave *kamui* [spirit-helpers, right arms striking] in turn, it is as if the others [evil spirits] are not. Humbly, with diffidence in the presence of Iresu Kamui, they can save the Ainu person by means of their *takusa* [purification switches]. With *takusa etiu*, by the ends of the *takusa*, any *wen kamui* can be utterly swept away. You are besought to give your orders [to act].

2. *Invocation to Uari Kamui*

Uari Kamui, this painful and difficult [labour, understood] indeed makes this young woman fearful. Since this sudden anxiety is known to Iresu Kamui [Kamui Fuchi] she probably exhorts you in this matter to act without delay, to take the baby from the womb gently and safely and hold [preserve it]. Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

APPENDIX I

4. *Invocation to Kinashut Kamui*

Surpassingly swift Thinker, Chief Kinashut! Therefore are you sitting with Nusa-koro Kamui, to the west of his place [actually to the north-west]. Inside [the house], near to Kamui Fuchi, the childbirth goes on with difficulty. Uari Kamui, surprised and anxious, sends a message for you to do something. Kamui Fuchi sends a servant to say what I am telling you. Give attention to this. Kamui *takusa* will help the suffering Ainu. Uncoiling from above downwards with your *kamui takusa* on the suffering Ainu and blowing away [hissing] you do *epiru* [exorcism by sweeping]. Afterwards will follow easy labour and delivery from the womb. Iresu Kamui will probably tender thanks.

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5. *Invocation to Apa-sam Kamui*

Beside the door of the house of Iresu Kamui, Protecting Person, Echiririkek[1] Person, Brave Deity with that name! Nearby there is suffering from the evil magic put on by some *wen kamui* whereby labour continues to be difficult. Even if hiding in the earth, you can search it out, and, from the earth, with Mintara-ush Guru [deity of the precincts] can take hold of it in both arms and both sweep it away and punish it for evil doing. Afterwards Shtoruruke[2] Mat, Kamui Katkimat and your younger sister, holding her spirit *takusa* in both hands [one in each hand] will utterly sweep away from inside the home of Iresu Kamui, with the ends of the *takusa*, the rancorous *kamui*. Tell Mintara-ush Guru [outside] also to grip and punish it. Then afterwards the childbirth will go on gently and easily. Uari Kamui will receive from the womb, and hold, the baby. Iresu Kamui will probably accord thanks.

6. *Invocation to Mintara-koro Kamui or Mintara-ush Guru*

Near Iresu Kamui there is inside [the house] painful and difficult labour. Iresu Kamui being anxious about this thing selects out of many *Tunchi* [assistants or spirit-helpers] Mintara-ush Guru. To make known the tidings Iresu Kamui sends her messenger. Humbly attending to that, with *kamui takusa* held in both hands, in the presence of Iresu Kamui, you may save the Ainu person, and with *takusa* sweep away the ill-disposed *kamui* [*pito*], clearing it away by the ends of the *takusa*. Later on there will be good childbirth. Uari Kamui with both hands

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[1] *Echiririkek* implies that as water trickling down finds its way, so, my informants surmise, the name implies searching out. But this is only a plausible interpretation. The word is a proper name in this place.—N.G.M.

[2] This is a proper name for which my informants can find no meaning. The nearest dictionary interpretation that I get near to is Great-heap. Another: *Shtoruruke* also refers to the water in which the *shto* or cakes have been boiled for the Bear Festival.—N.G.M.

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delivering the child [taking the child from the womb] Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

7. *Invocation to Ru-koro Kamui*

Ru-koro Kamui, inside [the house] there is painful and difficult [labour]. Therefore, Mintara-ush Guru, informed of the trouble and being near, asks Ru-koro Kamui to rise and help alongside of Iresu Kamui. Mintara-koro Kamui bears a message about this affair asking urgently that you take in your hands the *kamui takusa* and do *takusa etiu* upon the suffering Ainu. Rancorous *kamui* can be swept out by the ends of the *takusa*, and any evil *kamui* whatsoever, at last there will be an easy birth. Iresu Kamui will probably bestow thanks.

8. *Invocation to Nishu Fuchi* (*Ancestress of the Mortar*)

Nishu Fuchi, though you be called *Kotan korisme* [village dancer], you are Kamui Katkimat. Chief one of many agents of Iresu Kamui, you are about the same age and were brought up together . . . appearing as *Kotan korimse* you are Kamui Katkimat. Because within the home there is painfully difficult labour, Uari Kamui is startled and anxious at the side [of the patient]. Upon the suffering Ainu from head to feet, if, with the magic force of your outstretched arms, you thrust the spear-shadow rapidly to and fro, any *wen kamui* rancorously putting evil magic upon the Ainu will be annihilated [reduced to powder] by your magic thrust. Afterwards there will be a good childbirth. Uari Kamui, close by [the patient and child], will give protection. Iresu Kamui will surely be gladly thankful.

9. *Invocation to Soko-ni Fuchi* (*Elder Tree Ancestress*)

Soko-ni Fuchi, [existing] from the most ancient times of Ainu Land! In this way Soko-ni Fuchi is near to Kamui Fuchi in a house where there is difficult labour. On this account Uari Kamui is very anxious and makes haste to tell the trouble. Alongside of Mintara-koro Kamui, Soko-ni Fuchi holds in her hands her *kamui* [spirit] *takusa* and together with Iresu Kamui will save the suffering Ainu by blowing away [the trouble] and sweeping it away altogether by the *takusa*. Thus the rancorous *kamui* shall be entirely ousted, and with easy labour the child be born. Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

10. *Invocation to Nusa-koro Kamui to order Ashke Tanne Mat, the long-fingered woman, to lend assistance. She is the Spider* kamui, *and midwife to all Ainu women*

Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi! Near to Iresu Kamui inside [the house] there is painful and difficult [labour]. There is fresh news of great

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anxiety in this matter. Over and above these standing *inau* is something more [than the favour previously asked]. The message of Iresu Kamui has probably been heard that you grant your spirit helper Ashke Tanne Mat to save [the suffering woman]. Uari Kamui alongside adjures you to protect. Please vouchsafe this.

11. *This invocation is made directly to Ashke Tanne Mat. Like Kinashut Kamui, she is a dependant or assistant to Nusa-koro Kamui*

Ashke Tanne Mat [Long Fingered Female] Kamui Katkimat! Inside, near Iresu Kamui, is a difficult childbirth. Uari Kamui, anxious for this reason, hastens to make it known to Nusa-koro Kamui, who hearing it will probably tell what she says. Together with Uari Kamui you can help to save. Protecting close together there will be a gentle and easy delivery of the child from inside, with near at hand defence [against evil *kamui*]. Iresu Kamui will probably give thanks.

12. *Invocation to Wakka-ush Kamui to demand aid from the* kamui *of the fresh-water crab, Ami Tanne Mat, the long-nailed woman*

Wakka-ush Kamui, Kamui Pase Guru! Near to Iresu Kamui inside [the house] there is painfully difficult labour. Uari Kamui has much anxiety. Wakka-ush Kamui is asked, together with [offerings of] *inau*, to attend to it. Condescend to command the divine agent [or assistant] Ami Tanne Mat, Kamui Katkimat, to help.

13. *Invocation made directly to Ami Tanne Mat*

Agent of Wakka-ush Kamui [the god of fresh waters] Ami Tanne Mat! [long-nailed female]. Near Iresu Kamui there is certainly suffering and difficult labour. This being so, Uari Kamui is most anxious about it and has surely sent the tidings to Ami Tanne Mat, Kamui Katkimat. Previously, your Chief, Wakka-ush Kamui, has had the message. His command you have probably heard, to take immediately your magic hook of iron in both hands. [This probably means to do the best with it.] Alongside [the patient] Uari Kamui is unable to save the baby in the womb. As to this, if it dies it must die. Uari Kamui being unable has therefore told Kamui Katkimat. Even if the baby dies in the womb, the suffering Ainu, at any rate, has only one soul-possessing body. Uari Kamui, near at hand, asks you to protect.

14. *This invocation to Honpusa, the penis, is a last resort*

This Honpusa, soul-bearing Kamui! From inside myself and from the womb there should be a baby. Gently and easily Uari Kamui should receive and hold it safely. An evil *kamui*, working mischief in an Ainu belly, makes labour continue to be difficult. Urgently needed, your

APPENDIX 1

782 medicine [his urine] will clear from above down the belly of the suffer-
845 ing Ainu. If it is drunk, it will clear from above downwards any evil
539 *kamui* from the belly and drive it forth. After delivery of the baby Uari
755 Kamui shall receive it and will probably be very happy.
776

/764 cont./

844 The birth pangs start with the Ainu women long before the
actual confinement and are very obstinate. A confinement is
[845] only considered difficult if birth does not take place till the
fifth day after the first pains.

844 The midwife speaks the following words in taking up the
789 child: "Asiri ciacia inankarachty," which means, "new old
769 man, be healthy"! When a girl has been born she says pachko
instead of ciacia, /765/ meaning "little old woman." The
Ainu believe that their children are sent to them from the be-
[842] yond by deceased relatives, who live there in the same con-
[775] ditions as the inhabitants of the earth. For that reason a mother
takes her child up in her arms as quickly as possible after its
umbilical cord has been cut with a knife, and says: "A! Aino!
vok erambotara-anachci ne nanko!" meaning, "Look, people,
how disturbed they are!" That is, those who have sent the child
to earth now remember this and are worried whether it has
weathered its journey safely.

844 The Ainu do not hide anything from their children who
[864] know exactly how childbirth takes place. For that reason it is
unnecessary to lie to them later concerning the arrival of a new
brother or sister.

Behavior of the Man.—

The husband of a prospective mother has to take the place of the midwife whenever the latter does not turn up on time or when the confinement becomes too protracted.

844 The husband of the woman in childbirth helps her in many
778 cases personally, as do the other men in the house. When the
782 woman moans they place in one corner of the hearth a little
789 stick whose surface has been carved with a knife. This little
stick is called inau by the Ainu and signifies a sacrifice to the
[776] gods, in this case the goddess of fire. For it is this one among
all the gods who maintains the best relations with man, and
she can, when she wants to, always be of help to man. The
men also clasp a string around the suffering woman just below
[755] the chest. This string is twisted out of long willow chips and is
called cinoje inau, that is, "twisted inau"; it is often used as a

/765 cont./

844 remedy for all severe pains. If, despite all this, birth still does
778 not ensue, another sacrifice is made to the goddess of fire by
782 the elders of the house. A small inau is placed in the middle
789 of the hearth amidst burning logs, and as it is gradually con-
[755] sumed by the flames, an old man sitting on a little mat in front
of the fire whispers a soft prayer improvised especially for the
occasion. If the glowing stick falls over in the direction of the
[787] praying man, this is regarded as an indication that the prayer
has been heard and that the woman will soon be relieved of
her pains.

844 On the day of birth a husband usually does not work, but
not because of some superstitious regulation; rather, he does
it from sympathy and sorrow for his wife's suffering. He is also
highly interested to see whether his ancestors presented him with
a son or a daughter. He asks the midwife about this, and she
answers laconically with ochkajko (man) or machneku (woman).
[842] I should mention, however, that the Ainu by no means have a
special preference for offspring of a certain sex. I have, it is
true, heard repeatedly that a father wished for a boy, yet it
never occurred, to my knowledge, that one of the parents or of
the relatives expressed himself with disgust or anger at the birth
846 of a girl. If the husband of the woman in childbed has an urgent
business affair of some sort which cannot be put off under any
circumstances, he may leave his wife and the newborn baby as
early as the following day after the birth, but only, of course,
if the health of both mother and child is satisfactory and there
is no more danger to be feared.

846 /766/ On the first day of joy for the parents the husband
574 takes part in the festival arranged in honor of the birth. Most
852 of all, they throw wild garlic (Alium victoriale) into the fire.
[824 This plant is considered the favorite food of the gods and the
776 Ainu believe that they can force the gods to take part in the
782] festival by throwing it into the fire. Rice is also cooked with
[262] garlic, and made into a very rare and tasty dish. All neighbors
[758] are invited to the feast. These come quietly and are careful

group whether obtained by adoption or by birth. In either of the Otopuke 614
and Satnai valleys all the local groups formed a single *shine itokpa* group.
But the local groups who lived in the Tokapchi valley were divided into
several *shine itokpa* groups: the one in the upstream area consisted of seven
local groups of Kuttarashi, Nitmap, Pipaushi, Kumaushi, Sanenkoro, Moseushi
and Penke Pipaushi, another group on the middle course consisted possibly
of five local groups of Kene, Memroputu, Pipairu, Fushiko and Shupusara,
and perhaps one or two more *shine itokpa* groups further downstream which
could not be identified.

The group had neither single authority nor common territory. The only [796]
collective action of the *shine itokpa* group, so far as identified by the present
writer, was the bear ceremony (pp. 74-77). It provided the only occasion [628]
for meeting many of their relatives and friends who resided outside the local
group. In normal times no group larger than the local group took part in [476]
any collective enterprise, though on rare occasions two related families from
different local groups within a *shine itokpa* group might and actually did
privately join to cooperate in hunting or fishing. Formal relations between 628
local groups were rarely established, but through intermarriage (p. 17) there
might have been many individual contacts between kin and affines in different
local groups.

The River Group.

The river group is an aggregation of all the local groups which lived 619
along a river as distinguished by the Ainu[16]. It was called by the name of 631
the river plus *un utaru*, the people in such and such a river. The river
group might consist of a single *shine itokpa* group as in each of the Otopuke
and Satnai valleys or consist of several *shine itokpa* groups as in the Tokapchi
valley. They regarded the river basin as their own territory, claiming exclusive
rights to exploit all its resources, which they defended against the trespass
of outsiders (pp. 56-57; 67-68; 77-78). Hence they were also called
shine iwora ukokoru utaru, the people jointly possessing one and the same
iwora of the river valley as distinguished by the Ainu. However, at least in
normal times, there was no single authority controlling the group as a whole.
The main bond which linked the people of a river together not only seems
to have been economic interests but a deeply rooted cosmological background.
There is evidence that each river as distinguished by the Ainu was associated 619
with one or several particular *ekashi itokpa*. It was the *shine itokpa* group 823
which had one of these aboriginal *itokpa*. Only the people having the aboriginal
itokpa associated with the river, observing the associated ritual for local [776]
deities and living in the river valley, were regarded as the real people of the
river who were entitled to be guardians of the river valley and of the deities
that were believed to live there and look after them (pp.70-71; 77-78).

[p.69]

VI

SYSTEM OF SOCIAL SOLIDARITY BETWEEN MAN AND NATURE

121 Radcliffe-Brown, in his theory of totemism, worked out an important basic concept of the subject of relation in myth and ritual of man and nature, that is, the concept of the universe as a moral order (RADCLIFFE-BROWN, 1952, pp. 130-1). The recogniton of the concept leads to that of various processes by which the natural order is brought within the social order. The subject to be discussed here is the degree and kind of interest taken by a people in spatial orientation of natural phenomena around them, and its role in the process of bringing the natural order within the social order.

No attempts have been made to analyze the beliefs and rituals of the Ainu as integral part of the system of relationships between their group life and their habitat or, in other words, as the system of social solidarity between the people and the natural world which works as counterpart to the ecological system. Yet such analyses are thought to be essential to the understanding of the Ainu territoriality and, concurrently, of the distribution and workings of Ainu groups.

Every natural phenomenon occupies a precise place in space. Natural species, whether human or non-human, live and grow in a certain amount of space on the earth. To what extent and in what way this space factor is relevant to a people's system of social solidarity between man and nature, seems to be a problem worthy of exploration.

823 824 825 776 The Ainu personified all organisms and classified them according to religious categories[12]. But they were not content with mere personification of natural species and a mere taxonomic approach to ordering them. They brought geographical factors into their system of ordering the natural world. Every natural phenomenon has its activity and these activities are interconnected with each other in relation to time and space. Thus the earth's surface, which is seen to our eyes as the carpet of fauna and flora, was seen by the Ainu as the carpet of *kamui*[1] groups in their temporary guises. Every topographical feature such as hill, river and sea, was seen as the field of activity of these *kamui* groups. According to the Ainu view, the whole Ainu land was divided into a number of *iworu*, fields of activities of *kamui*. Some data suggest that the sea also was spatially divided into sections or areas each associated with a particular *kamui* and closely related to the fishing ecology of the coastal Ainu[13].

1,[i.e., nature-spirit--Analyst]

River System as Seen by the Ainu. 823

The Ainu classified the component parts of a river system into parent and children. In this way, for instance, the Tokapchi river system was classified into the following categories. The main river was regarded as male parent, [illegible], a tributary as the parent river's male child, *okkai poho*, another as a female child, *matne poho*, and another as child whose sex is unknown to my informants. To the geographer the whole river system is known as the Tokapchi, but the Ainu use this term to refer only to the main river or what the Ainu regard as the parent. The son of the Tokapchi, a tributary, is known as Otopuke, the daughter as Satnai, and the child whose sex is unknown as Tushipet [illegible]. They have no term to refer to the river system as a whole, the component streams of a river system being each regarded as a separate unit.

They classify individual streams into *pet* and *nai*. So far as the areas investigated by the present writer are concerned, *pet* is larger than *nai*: the former may be called a river and the latter a glen. Any definite criteria of the two categories, however, are not known to the present writer. Each named stream, whether *pet* or *nai*, is the dwelling of, and is owned by, a *kamui* spirit. The *kamui* was known by the name of the river or the glen which it possessed. For example, the river known as the Otopuke was inhabited by '*Otopuke un pet-orun kamui*' which mean the river-*kamui* living in the Otopuke river. Another name used for the *kamui* is '*Otopuke un pet iworu* [illegible] *kamui*'. *Iworu* means the activity field of *kamui*-spirits, and [illegible] means 'to own'. The glen-owning *kamui* was called by the name of the glen as, for instance, '*Naitai un nai koru kamui*'. The river-owning spirit was believed to be the chief or head of the water spirits, *nai* [illegible], which lived in streams flowing into the river[35]. 823 776

Each river group evolved around a river, *pet*, was distinguished by the name of the river as, for example, '*Otopuke un utaru*', the people of Otopuke. The river basin, i.e. the area drained by the river and its tributary streams, includes fields, hills and mountains. River basins were named by adding the suffix [illegible] to the name of the river; for instance, the river basin of Otopuke would be called '*Otopuke iworu*'. In this context *iworu* refers to land. The *iworu*, i.e. the river basin, was claimed by the river group as their territory. It was called, for instance, '*Otopuke un utaru koru iworu*', the *iworu* which the people of Otopuke own. The relation between the river system and the territory of the river group has already been explained in details in chapter V and Note 45. 823 619

Each river group believed that the land-*iworu* of their own river was also inhabited by a number of various *kamui* or nature-spirits and the chiefs among them as well as the chief water-spirit, resided in the upper reaches of the 823 776

823 776 river as explained below. Each river has its own head which was thought to be especially important to the river group evolved around it and which was called by a special name. Most important of these names is the affix '*shi*' meaning true, grand and parental, which is attached to the name of the river[56]. For example, one of the head streams of Otopuke is known as *Shi*-Otopuke. What the Ainu call *Shi*-Otopuke, is what they believe to be the source. The river head area was known as *kimun iworu, iworu* deep in mountains. Its boundary usually corresponds to the limit of dog salmon run; however, the present writer could not verify what the fact means. The top of a particular mountain at the source of *Shi*-stream, i.e. the source stream as recognized by the Ainu, of the river, was called *iworu tapka*, the top of *iworu*, where it was believed the chief bear-spirit lived. There also are some evidences that the chiefs of some other categories of nature spirits were believed to reside there[57]. *Kimun iworu* was the area which was actually visited only by Ainu bear hunters and bark collecters. The *iworu-tapka* was believed by the Ainu to be the place never accessible to them. Ainu settlements were along the river below *kimun iworu*.

The tributary streams giving into each river were called children, *poho*, or branched people, *tekehe utari*, of the river and had their own names. Each of these streams or glens named by the Ainu, was inhabited and owned by a water-spirit, *nai koru kamui*, the glen-owning *kamui* who was subordinate to [361] the river-owning *kamui*[58]. Ainu settlements were usually situated near the junction of those streams and the river distinguished by the Ainu as a unit, for instance, as Otopuke.

361 776 342 Ainu settlements were thus associated with the terrestrial homes of nature spirits, *kamui*. The houses of all Ainu settlements had a special type of window which was oriented towards the river-head[59]. The sacred window had a function specialized for communication between the fire spirit in the house and other *kamui* outside[60]. This had influenced the spatial arrangement of the habitation of the Ainu family and the pattern of the Ainu settlements (Figs. 1 and 6)[61]. In the past, settlements usually consisted of a single row of houses, which seldom lined up face to face on both sides of a road. Now [178] that the cosmological ideas of most Ainus have changed, the traditional pattern has also altered in most settlements, which are usually seen today with a plurality of house rows.

825 Dog Salmon as Viewed by the Ainu.

776 The Ainu view of the nature of the dog salmon, especially of its seasonal run to specific rivers and its habit of spawning in specific grounds, may be summarized as follows.

a The salmon takes the form of a fish but it is not a fish of common

nature; it is the food forwarded to the Ainu by the *kamui* who lives in the sea 825
and sends it to the Ainu. The *kamui* is referred to by different informants as 776
either of *chepatte kamui* and *atui koru kamui* (Note 53), of which the former seems to be correct. The Ainu called dog salmon *kamui chep*, divine fish, or *shipe kamui chep*, grand food divine fish.

b) The salmon is the subordinate of the *kamui* who lives in a house similar to that of the Ainu somewhere in the sea, and has a human form like the Ainu.

c) There are a number of leaders, *utaru pake kuru* (headman), among salmon spirits who run up different rivers to visit the Ainu, leading their own group of salmon spirits, *ichan kara kamui* (spawning-bed making *kamui*), under the direction of the *chepatte kamui* (or *atui koru kamui*).

d) When visiting the Ainu, they bring with them meals of salmon meat for the Ainu.

e) After giving this meat to the Ainu and being entertained by them, each spirit of the salmon assumes a human form and goes back by boat to its home in the sea. On the way back, they take with them such souvenirs given by the Ainu as *inau*-sticks.

f) Which river they run up depends upon the direction of the *kamui* in the sea. He will forward plenty of salmon to the river along which live the Ainu who respect and welcome them in proper way.

g) The fire-spirit, *apehuchi kamui*, tells the river-owning spirit, *petorun kamui*, how the salmon caught were treated by their capturers, the Ainu. The river-owning spirit communicates this to the *kamui* in the sea.

h) Salmon when caught should be treated in certain prescribed ways; otherwise, they will never come back again.

Group Activities as Their Ritual Reaction to Dog Salmon[52].

Towards the termination of cherry salmon runs, dog salmon started running. 226
Before the arrival of salmon, each local group observed a pre-fishing 196
ritual, *petorun kamuinomi*, to ensure their coming up. The male household 782
heads of the local group participated in the ritual organized and directed by the headman. Prayers and offering-sticks, *inau*, were given to the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit. The *inau* bore the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the headman, that is, of the patrilineal male-kin group which constituted the core of the local group. After the collective ritual at the headman's house, each household head made *inau*-offerings, *pet oren asange inau*, and went to set them up at the prescribed spot, *inau aroshiki ushi*, near the spawning ground habitually exploited by his own settlement group and controlled by his own local group as a whole.

As previously mentioned in connection with dog-salmon fishing, shoals 825

825 running earliest in season have to ascend farthest upstream before they can
spawn. The earliest group which run up the main stream of the river around
which each river group evolved, were regarded as *kamui oren oman chep*,
fish which run up to *kamui*, though the *kamui* could not be named definitely.
The terminus recognized by the Ainu of dog salmon run in the main stream
of each river, either the Tokapchi, the Otopuke or the Azuma, corresponds
226 with the lowermost limit of ~~the~~ deep mountain *iworu*, *kimun iworu*.

782 The member of each settlement, who caught the first salmon, *ashiri chep*,
796 *hoshino shirepa chep* or *ashino tanepo chep*, sent it to his headman. Every
[431] food gift among the Ainu, whether to the headman or to anyone else, was
regarded as an offering, *akopuni*, to the fire-spirit. Besides this gift the first
[574] fisher of each settlement invited the people to eat together from his first
catch, which was cooked in his house for the first time in the season. The
first dog salmon to be eaten for the first time in each house, either in the
first fisher's house or in any other's, must be offered to the fire-spirit of each
household and the ritual cutting must be performed by a male with his man's
knife, *inauke makiri*, the *inau*-scraping knife. The mandible *paetu*, of the
salmon, eaten for the first time in each household was reserved for tying to
a new *inau*-stick which was to be thrown into the river at the end of the
season.

When the spawning of salmon ended at the spawning grounds of each local group, each headman called together all the male household heads to his house and observed a post-run or post-fishing ritual, *petorun kamui nomi*, ritual for the river spirit, 'to see off salmon-spirits' and to pray for a plentiful next run. The ritual procedure seems to have been much the same as that for the pre-run ritual, except that on return from the headman's house, each household head threw special *inau*-sticks, *chip inau*, or dug-out *inau*, attached with all the mandibles of the dog salmon eaten in his house during the year, into the river at a prescribed spot near the spawning ground most frequented by the people of his settlement.

226 Taboos concerning dog salmon fishing were much more severe with female
784 than with male members and much more stringent for spawning grounds
562 than for other sites.

825 Brown Bear as Viewed by the Ainu.

● 776 a. Like all plants and animals, the bear when in its own land is in human form and lives in a house similar to that of an Ainu. The house, *kamui chise*, appears to the eyes of the Ainu as a den.

b. The bear-spirit, *kimun kamui*, *kamui* residing deep in the mountains, has its kinsmen, *utari*, and its headman, *utari shikamakkuru*, the man to look after his kinsmen[64]. The chief of the bears, *metotush kamui*, *kamui* in the

heart of the mountains, or *nupuri noshiki koru kamui*, *kamui* who owns the 825
centre of the mountains, is believed to be the big bear that lives in a large 776
house on the lofty mountain top at the riverhead[64]. In Tokapchi, the abode was believed to be on the summit of *Optateshke nupri*, Optateshke mountain, in Otopuke on the top of *Otopuke nupuri*, and in Azuma on that of Mt. Yubari.

c The headman is never known to move outside of its abode to be seen by the Ainu; but in spring, on its orders, its people put on the bear's form ready for their visits to the Ainu.

d When they go, they take with them bear meat to give to the Ainu for meals. When they set out of their land, the headman gives notice to the fire-spirit, *apehuchi kamui*, who resides in each Ainu house.

e The messenger of the fire-spirit is the bear hound, *riep kamui*, creeping *kamui*, or *iso itak kamui*, *kamui* who calls the bear-spirit, who conducts the Ainu to meet the visitor. The bear, then, is not hunted by the Ainu; it comes to visit them.

f When the ursine visitor arrives, it enters the hunter's house by the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, presenting its host with the bearskin and the bear meat it brings. In return it receives all the due hospitality for an honoured guest. After accepting the treasured *inau*, shaved wooden stick, [778]
the visitor, again in human form, goes back to the riverhead to his headman[65].

g On its return home the spirit of the bear is received by the headman and its fellow people, who all share with it the gift brought back from the Ainu.

h If the bear has been treated with due attention, the headman will be pleased to send more of its people to visit the same host again next year.

Group Activities as Their Ritual Reaction to the Brown Bear.

Mention has already been made in Chapters III and IV that in Hok- 224
kaido the hibernation centres of bears as recognized by the Ainu lay chiefly distributed in the mountains at the source areas of the rivers and that local groups more upstream and nearer to the hibernation centres showed greater enthusiasm in organized bear hunting than those farther away (pp. 37 and 47). It follows that more cubs were captured annually by those living more [231]
upstream and maintaining more bear hunters, while some of those groups more downstream and with less bear hunters seem to have found themselves occasionally short of cubs to bring up for ritual killing.

When cubs taken were brought in by each hunting party, they were 231
either allotted for rearing among the member families, as in the case of Tokapchi, Kushiro, Saru and Azuma areas, or taken on in one lot by the leader's family, all the others contributing necessary feed, as was the case in

231 own ceremonies, only took part in those of the other sections of the *shine*
796 *itokpa* group[68].

776
619
Territoriality and the System of Social Solidarity between the Ainu and Habitat.

The Ainu used to believe that the *kamui*-spirits which lived in the *iworu*
423 of the neighbouring river looked after them. The inhabitants of a river, i.e.
the river group, claimed exclusive rights to exploit the resources in the river
basin which consisted of land- and river-*iworu*. Outsiders were allowed no
access to those resources except by permission. The permission was obtain-
[796] able from the headman of any local group in the river valley by going
through a certain ritual procedure for the local *kamui*-spirits. Their claim
to resources on land was activated not only by their economic interest but
423 also by their cosmological system as such.

226 If some one wanted to fish at the spawning grounds owned by another
[628] local group, he had to ask for permission of the headman of that group.
[782] Under the direction of the headman, the applicant observed a proper ritual
for the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit and offered *inau*-sticks made
[431] by him to the spawning ground where he wanted to fish. After fishing, he
would give part of his catches to the headman and the people who lived
near the spawning ground and customarily fished there. The proportion of
the amonunt of the 'gift to the fire-spirit' to his catches seems not to have
been prescribed. Among the member local groups of the same river group,
permission was usually given without fail.

Fishing in areas of a river outside of those named spawning grounds and
private sites was freely done as occasion demanded by the people of the same
river, that is, by the members of the river group. There was, however, a
custom that in order to prevent any fishing by outsiders without permission,
every fisherman gave information of his coming to the people of the nearby
[431] settlement. Sometimes he might inform on his way home. Also in this case,
part of his catches was usually given to them as a gift to the fire-spirit.

776 In the case of gathering, either fishing, hunting or collecting, in the ter-
619 ritory of a different river group, one had to get permission from any one of
423 the headmen in the river valley, regardless of the method of one's fishing or
hunting. Such permission was given on the performance of a ritual for local
[782] *kamui*-spirits concerned, but not always, because assurance was required that
/ [685] the fisherman or hunter be faithful to the local *kamui*-spirits. The discoverer
of any tresspasser must bring him to his headman or some headman available
[782] at hand in the river valley, to make him apologize as soon as possible to the
local *kamui*-spirits of the river concerned[69]. Also the discovery of such evid-
ence of tresspass as salmon bones thrown in the mountains of the river was

a cause for serious issue, for it meant a grave violation to the *kamui*-spirits 776
of the river, from which the people of the river or the river group received 619
exclusive favour and which they guarded with greatest caution. The Ainu 423
expressed the maintaining of their territory, that is, the territory of the river [782]
group, by the words 'the guard of our *iworu* owning *kamui*-spirits'. Their
territoriality was actually activated not only by economic interest but by
their system of social solidarity with nature as such.

The Ainu world was full of divine visitors: all the natural resources 776
exploited by them were *kamui*-spirits in temporary guises. In consequence 182
all their gathering activities implied social intercourse with *kamui*. Moreover, 771
each *kamui* had its own function in relation to the economic and social activities of the Ainu. Thus there was a close interdependence between Ainu
and *kamui*, and their rituals and taboos were an expression of this relationship. The relationship, that is, the social solidarity between Ainu and *kamui*
was established on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity[70]. Ainu [772]
cosmology emphasized its component of spatial orientation; nature, i.e. *kamui*,
were ordered on local basis. The effective ritual relationship between those
spatially oriented *kamui* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin
group of males which formed the basis of the Ainu local organization.

105 The river valley constituted a unit area of resource distributions; the terri-
423 tory formed a nearly or completely self-contained unit of Ainu habitat. Within
619 this were territories of minor categories which were seasonally maintained
by such smaller groups as the local group, the cooperative group and the individual household. These might be hunting or fishing sites exploited by means of fixed devices or concentrations of certain specific resources which annually recurred at the same places.

105 7. The ecological system of the Ainu functions on adaptation of their techni-
182 ques to the spatio-temporal structure of the activities of biotic species. The
Ainu system of relationships in beliefs and ritual of man and nature is their own theory and practice for maintainance of the ecological system.

105 8. The Ainu system of social solidarity between man and nature was estab-
619 lished on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity within a river
771 valley as the territory of the river group. Ainu cosmology emphasized its
[776] component of spatial orientation; nature, i e. *kamui*, were ordered on local
[614] basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamni*
and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which was the basis of Ainu local organization.

121 Every organism leads its concrete life in a given environment; that no animal can function apart from its habitat is amply shown in animal ecology. It follows that when we look at man as a functioning organism and try to understand his group life as part of a living system, the relationship of the group with its habitat should be first examined. The present study shows that between the Ainu and their habitat there exist two systems of interrelations working on quite different levels: the first is an ecological system, i.e. a system of relationships through technological activities of man with habitat, and the second, a system of social solidarity between man and nature, i.e. a system of relationships through beliefs and rituals of man with habitat.

[114] Significance of ecological factors relevant to group structure has been worked out by Steward (1938), Evans-Pritchard (1940) and Forde (1947) and the importance of the relationships through native beliefs and rituals between man and nature in connection with social organization has been shown by Radcliffe-Brown (1952) and Forde (1954), while the present study on the Ainu shows the reciprocal adjustment between the ecological system and the system of social solidarity between man and habitat and the group structure.

VI

(52) The category of supernatural beings that received the greatest emphasis 776 among the Ainu is the *kamui*. Except for the Ainu culture-hero, *aeoina kamui*, all *kamui* are spirits of natural phenomena. In the supernatural world *kamui* take the form of Ainus. They have families, settlements, and even headmen. They may visit the land of the Ainu. When they do so, they disguise themselves by taking the form of some natural phenomena on earth, and bring something for the Ainu. When the material guise of the *kamui* was [796] killed, the *kamui* departed for the *kamui*-land; its departure had to be marked with an appropriate ritual. It is for this reason that the Ainu damped bones and skins as well as broken or used-up artifacts and even ashes from the fire-place to prescribed spots with due ritual (Fig. 1).

According to my informants the dead and *kamui* are different things. 775 Batchelor (1901, pp. 567 and 569) and Natori (1945, p. 150) describe of an 776 Ainu belief that the dead join company with their ancestors, *shinrit*, and live in the same way as in this world, even observing rituals for *kamui*. Batchelor (1901, pp. 568-9) and Natori (1945, pp. 149-50) note the idea of dichotomy of their another world into the *kamui*-land which is the destination of the good and the under-land believed to be the destination of the bad. Kubodera (1956, p. 6) states that the Ainu regard another world as existing under this world, and Izumi (1951, p. 215) mentions that another world of the Saru Ainu was believed to exist under the territory of the river group. My infor- 769 mants distinguish between the ancestor ritual, *shinnurappa*, and the ritual 782 for *kamui*, *komuinomi* and between the offering sticks to ancestors, *icharupa inau* or *shinnurappa inau*, and those to *kamui*, *kamuinomi inau*. The ancestor ritual was performed at a place different from that for the *kamui*-ritual.

The essential components of the ancestor ritual are shedding of wine and foods onto *icharupa inau* each to be offered to an ancestor or ancestress, and associated prayers which are different from those for *kamui*-deities, *kamuinomi inono itak*. The *icharupa* ritual was observed by men as well as women; [562] however, it should always have been preceded by *kamuinomi* ritual the observance of which was exclusively in the hands of men.

It is said that a male Ainu worshipped male ancestors of his *ekashi ikiru* 769 and a female Ainu female ancestors of her *huchi ikiru*. In practice, however, the ancestors to whom they directed the ritual and the generations which the ancestors covered seem to have been few. According to Kazari, my informant from Otopuke, those ancestors were usually patrilineal or matrilineal relatives of the observer of the ritual whom the observer had seen and

769 known well and by whom the observer was taken care after during their life time. The ritual seems rather to have been a family affair. In either of Azuma and Otopuke, principal ancestors to be worshipped were '*ekashi* and *huchi* of the household', that is father and mother of the male household- [273] head. In the days of their traditional life it was held on such an occasion as the bear ceremony for which wine was brewed. It was usually carried out by 'close relatives' who voluntarily came together to participate in it after finishing the bear ritual. The social aspect of the ancestor ritual in the traditional age still remains unexplained. KUBODERA (1951) and MUNRO (1962) give some data on the subject in the later period.

224 184 53 It seems certain—in fact, all informants agree on this point—that among the *pishun utaru* (coastal people) the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with grounds and huts mainly for that purpose, was very small in proportion to that among the *kimun utaru* (interior people). As a matter of fact, the *pishun utaru* also went hunting deer, and incidentally bears if any, on neighbouring plains and hills. What characterized them most was, how- [226] ever, the practice of sea-fishing.

776 182 Reports have already been made with reference to the Saru valley on the customary division of the fishing ground into sections with *kamui* spirits attributed to each (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 30-31). The same practice is found to have prevailed in the Mukawa valley, where, it must be noted, the division and the *kamui*-spirits attributed were in close relationship with the ecology of the game and the methods of fishing employed by the Ainu.

226 *Yanke tomari* and *repun tomari*.—Of this only a small area near the river [311] mouth, known as *tomari*, was for actual exploitation. This was the area where the outflowing river current kept the waters relatively free from wind [136] and waves. Here smaller fishes, such as dace and grey mullet, came together and provided a favourable site for seining. [227] At the Mukawa *tomari* only the people of the river's *pishun kotan*, Chin and Immope, habitually went fishing [296] with seines, of which they possessed each a set in common. Measuring '22-23' fathoms in length, these nets of nettle fibre was made under the direction of each headman from sections assigned to each family in the group. Except in winter, seining was done occasionally whenever the people liked. It was a day's work going out from the settlement and back. *Repun tomari* was the zone of waters lying next to *yanke tomari*; here hinder mountain tops could be seen above fore hills. This was the field of activity for *repun tomari* [136] *koru kamui*. In one area of the zone near Huihap Cape, which bordered on the territory of the Saru river group, good fishing was made of rays and plaices by setting stretch-rope hung with lines. The sea-bed there is said to be favourable for the habitation of these fishes. Only a few families of the

Only a few families of the
pishun utaru followed stretch-rope fishing: shortly after the land allotments, 226
2 families out of 10 and odd at Chin on the Mukawa and or 3 out of 14 or [184]
15 at Nina on the Saru.

Each spring and again each autumn, for about a month while favourable [221]
weather prevailed for drying and storing away their catches, the males of [251]
these families went to stay at seaside fishing lodges, *haina koru kucha* or
pishun kucha, and devoted themselves to fishing with the stretch-rope, '*haina*',
while their families remained at home. Information has it that about the [361]
same time there were 5 or 6 lodges belonging to the Saru group standing in
cluster on their side of Huihap Cape.

Yanke sotki and repun sotki.—*Yanke sotki* was the area lying next to 823
repun tomari and extending to where the hinder mountain tops were seen to 776
disappear beneath the horizon. *Repun sotki* was the open sea lying beyond.
The former was associated with *yanke sotki kor kamui* and the latter with
repun sotki kor kamui. It is said that *yanke soti kor kamui* was the spirit
of the younger killer whale and *repun sotki kor kamui* that of the elder
killer whale. Little can be known about the probable connection between
them and *repun kamui*, king killer whale or chief killer whale, referred to
by all informants from interior settlements as a special *kamui* worshipped by
pishun utar, coastal people. It is also said that *repun kamui* was a brother
to *metot ushi kamui*, chief of bears.

The above-mentioned two *sotki* provided the Ainu with fishing grounds 226
for swordfish, *shirikap*. The subdivision of the area seems related with the [136]
habit of swordfish and its effect on the method of their fishing. The Ainu
fished for them during summer when the fish swam round in groups of
several near the sea surface. The fishermen chased them in *itaoma chip*, [501]
dugouts with broadened sides, and pierced them with harpoons, *kite*. Harpooning
from small-sized dugouts on the open sea of this large fish held as
ferocious as the spearfish, was regarded by the Ainu as an operation of as
much special ability, both technical and ritual, as brown bear hunting. At
the Mukawa shortly after the land allotments only 3 families from the Chin
local group core followed swordfish harpooning. It was known that in some 226
years the fish came nearer shore and in others they kept farther off shore. 825
The boundary of *yanke sotki* represented the nearest approach line of the
fish known by experience, and the off-shore boundary their farthest line of
departure from shore. When the harpooning season came on, the *shirikap*
fishermen could foretell the probable course of the fish, whether they would
come the way of *yanke sotki* or that of *repun sotki*, by such signs as the
high or low flights of fireflies. The coming of swordfish to *repun sotki* meant [782]
for the Ainu going out into the markless open sea; it was then that the Ainu
became most particular on the observation of their ritual for *sotki kor kamui*.

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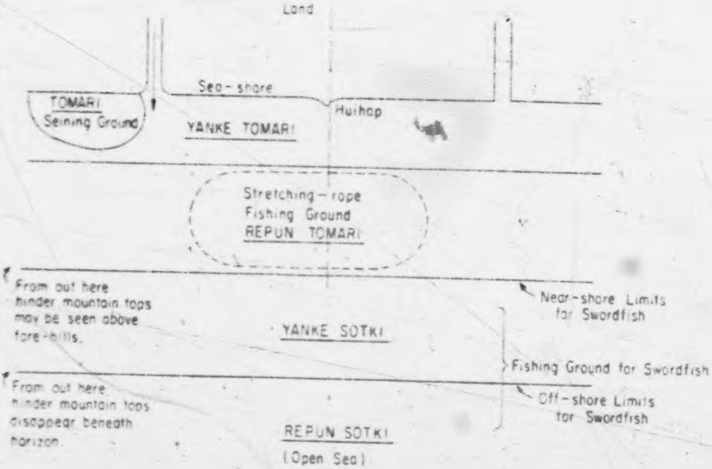
Land
Sea-shore
TOMARI
Seining Ground
YANKE TOMARI
Huihop
Stretching-rope
Fishing Ground
REPUN TOMARI
From out here hinder mountain tops may be seen above fore-hills.
YANKE SOTKI
Near-shore Limits for Swordfish
Fishing Ground for Swordfish
Off-shore Limits for Swordfish
From out here hinder mountain tops disappear beneath horizon.
REPUN SOTKI
(Open Sea)

226 796 The operation was carried out with their settlements as base without using any special lodges. The fish caught was disposed in practically the same way as with the bear. Its head was set on an altar erected out of doors "so that it might return to the open sea with the *inau* and regain its original shape." The flesh was shared as *aeimek* among all the families in the local group and also relatives living outside.

823 54 YOSHIDA was informed by an old Ainu that the Tokapchi, a male river, and the Ishikari, a female river, are a married couple whose children are the Otopuke and Satnai rivers (YOSHIDA, 1956b, p. 151). Another old Ainu informed him that the Otopuke is a son of the Tokapchi and the Satnai a daughter of it (ibid., p. 326).

776 823 55 The dominance-subordinance relation between the *kamui* attributed to a river, *pet*, as distinguished by the Ainu and around which a river group has evolved, and the *kamui* attributed to each of the tributary streams of the river, has been given no attention in any published materials. For the Ainu belief of water spirits living in a large group with its chief or headman presiding over them, reference may be made to the following descriptions by [782] [539] KINTAICHI: "There are so many of these (water spirits) *kamui* that, when soliciting their help, the Ainus call a chief as (in this ritual prayer).

O *kamui*, who keep your eyes on the stream flowing down this village of Saru,

O *kamui*, who command a host of retainers of *wakka ushi kamui*, the

kamui of water, 776
To you we implore......" (KINTAICHI, 1944, p. 270). 823

NATORI describes a mythical relationship between *Wakka ushi kamui*, the [782]
kamui of a given main stream or river, for instance the Saru, and *Nai koru* [539]
kamui, the *kamui* of a given glen or spring flowing into it (NATORI, 1941, p. 38). KINTAICHI cites *Pet koru kamui*, river owning *kamui* (KINTAICHI, 1944, p. 217).

(56) *Shi*-stream.—In CHIRI's explanation of the use and meaning of the affix 823
'*shi*' it is remarked that a number of streams into which the headwaters of 193
a river branch are regarded as parent and children and that the one thought to be the main stream receives the affix to indicate its parentage: thus *Shi-Tokoro* means the 'parent' Tokoro, i. e. the head of the main Tokoro (CHIRI, 1951, p. 34).

Since geographically the headwaters of every river branch into a number of streams, whether large or small, it might be supposed that all rivers have their main stream affixed with '*shi*', but whether or not that is always the actual case remains to be proved. As a matter of fact, where the head-streams are distinguished one from another, that one certainly carries the affix which is regarded to be the true main stream. The Satnai, however, gives no indication of its main head-stream being specially distinguished as *shi*-stream, because, as Ushino of Nitmap explains, the head of this river never branches. No investigation has been made for the river Azuma.

(57) *Iworu tapka* and the upper reaches of a river as the abode of nature 776
spirits.—In Otopuke the abode of the river-owning *kamui* was also oriented to the *iworu tapka* of the river, i. e. the summit of Mt. Otopke. In Mukawa, the chief tree-spirit, *shirampa kamui*, as well as the chief bear-spirit, *metotush kamui*, and the river-spirit, *wakka ush kamui*, were believed to reside in the highest mountains in the upper reaches of the river. The land-*iworu*-owning spirits of Tokapchi or Otopke, *Tokapchi or Otopuke iworu koru kamui*, the river-owning spirit, *petorun kamui*, of Tokapchi, and the river-spirit, *wakka ush kamui*, of Azuma, were each held to live in the upper reaches of the respective river. The number and kinds of the land-*iworu*-owning *kamui* could not be identified strictly; in regard to Tokapchi, the spirits belonging to the category are *kotan koru kamui*, the *kotan*-owning *kamui*, i. e. the owl spirit, *niyash koru komui*, the spirit of a certain bird, and some others which could not be named; concerning Otopuke, it is only informed that there were six or seven *kamui* of the category, the names of which my informant could not mention. The author's attempts at reaching a clear definition of this category have been fruitless. It is identified by Hikoichiro Oyamada, of

776 Shikot, with *shiri koru kamui* and *wakka ushi kamui*, by Hachiro Kurokawa and Manjiro Hiramura, of Saru, with bear-spirits, and again by Kentaro Yoshimura, of Azuma, with bear-spirits and probably *wakkaushi kamui*. A published material refers to it as standing in Saru for *hashi inau koro kamui* (i. e. *kamui* in the shape of a certain bird) and *shirampa kamui* (NATORI, 1941, p. 77).

Referring to the dwelling place assigned to *kotan koru kamui* of village-owning *kamui*, YOSHIDA quotes an old Tokapchi Ainu as saying: "In Satnai (i. e. Mt. Satnai at the head of the river Satnai—present writer) and Nupkaushi (i.e. Mt. Nupkaushi on the border of Otopuke *iworu*—present writer) there dwells in each a *kotan koru kamui*: in Satnai the *kamui* of the people of Satnai and in Nupkaushi that of the people of Otopuke" (YOSHIDA, 1956b, p. 154). An old Saru Ainu from Porosaru *kotan* informs that in his *kotan* "people offer *inau* and wine to Poroshiri (i. e. Mt. Poroshiri, recognized by Ainu as the head of the river Saru—present writer) as held to be the place where lives the *kotan koru kamui*" (YOSHIDA, 1957, p. 57). The only information available concerning the chief of water-spirits has been quoted from Mituoka in Note 59. For a belief in the guardian *kamui* of a district or land dwelling in the water-head mountain of a river along which the natives lived, see a quotation from YOSHIDA in Note 59.

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[776]
58. *Iworu* as a dale basin and the hunting territory.—The word *iworu*, rather than being a general term, is more usually a particular term to denote the basin of an actual river, *pet*, or dale, *nai*. As viewed by the Ainu, a river- or dale-basin has two aspects, as a geographical area and as a field of activity for associated nature-spirits. The designation of a river basin was made by the name of the *pet*, as, for instance, 'Otopuke *iworu*'. Similarly, when the term was applied to a dale basin, the name of the dale came first, as 'Wop *iworu*'. In practice the term was used in connection with hunting activities, as, for example, "I am going to Wop *iworu*", "Deer are plentiful in Nuatnai *iworu*", or "Wop *iworu hutne*, the narrows of the Wop valley".

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Many Ainus, when asked what the *iworu* is, answer that it is a hunting ground, for the following reason. Their hunting lodge, *iramande chise* or *kucha chise*, was invariably found in some dale, *nai*, with the whole of its upper area as *iramande* (hunting) *ushi* (site or place) or *ku ari* (set with bows) *ushi* of the occupants. It will be seen that their hunting ground lay always in some particular dale or *iworu*. In case of some hunting ritual or dispute with outsiders over a hunting ground, reference was made by the name of the representative (elder) of the hunting group concerned or by the name of the territorial group to which the hunting group belonged, as 'So-and-so's *iworu*' or '*iworu* under such and such people's control'. It must be noted

that the way of calling one and the same controlling body varied with vary- 192
ing situations, as when the addressed or the subject belonged to one's own 224
settlement, to another of the same river group, or to an entirely different river group. To cite just an example, the *ku ari ushi* of a hunting group—Zarashi and his sons—of Nitmap settlement belonging to the Tokapchi river group, was known as 'Zarashi *koru* (*to own*) *iworu*', '*ku* (*I*) *kor iworu*', 'Nitmap (name of the settlement) *un* (*to be at*) *utar* (*people*) *kor iworu*', and 'Tokapchi (*shipet* name) *un utar kor iworu*'. It must be noticed that the last name is identical with that of the *pet* area seen as the entire river group territory. These names, then, all denoting the hunting grounds of a particular cooperative group, stood for the dale area under its habitual control with attendant ritual observance.

Here caution must be taken in discriminating between the *iworu* as a river basin and the *iworu* as the hunting territory of a cooperative group. Nor should the *iworu* in the latter sense be taken, when designated as aforesaid by the name of a settlement, as if standing for any territory jointly controlled by the settlement group or local group.

Pilsudsky reports that the Ainu of Saghalin have from time immemorial 423
distributed all the streams among themselves as private property, and no one but the owner has the right to hunt anywhere along the stream (PILSUDSKY, 1912, p. 136).

59 The orientation scheme of the Ainu house has been referred by some 342
writers merely to the points of the compass, while a few have referred it to 361
the direction in which the house stands to the river flowing by the settlement.

YOSHIDA, who visited one of the Otopuke settlements in 1907, observed that every house in the settlement invariably opened its door to the south, that is, to the lower stream of the river Otopuke with one window facing east and another facing north, the second being called *kamui puyara* because it opened to the north where *kamui* dwells (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11). He describes about the Ainu of the age before 1885 who lived in the vicinity of Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi which he visited in 1907 and 1914 and where he became a resident from 1916 to 1930, as follows. The native houses stood along the bank of the river in the order from upper to lower positions with each *kamui*-window opening to the waterhead mountain and each door to the
lower stream. Outside each house, toward the upper stream, there stood the [778]
altar, between which and the window was erected the cage for the bear-cub. The orientation scheme of the houses varys according to the direction in
which the river flows (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 45). A generalization on the meaning [776]
of positions is also made by him as follows: "In every district a position in an Ainu house on the side of the upper stream is regarded as an upper

342 seat and one on the other side as a lower one; the house is so oriented in
361 the belief that at the top of the head mountain in the direction of the upper
776 side of the house there dwells the guardian *kamui* of the land" (YOSHIDA, 1958, p. 39).

MITUOKA cites similar information on the Shiraoi Ainu in the Southwestern part of Hokkaido: "The first thing that strikes one from the mainland of Japan as strange is the regular orientation of all the houses in a (Ainu) settlement. Needless to say, ancient tradition rules out all free planning by individuals. Opening a door or window facing upstream is to be avoided in reverence to the many *kamui* or deities, such as *wakka ushi kamui*, that reside on the upper reaches of the river. Houses must face downstream, for
[783] human habitation is subject to privacy and uncleanliness which it is too awful to expose to the sight of the *kamui*" (MITUOKA, 1941, p. 29).

HABARA quotes an Ainu writer, T. TAKESUMI, as describing, "The door of a house always faces downstream....; the window opening on the side of the upper stream...." (HABARA, 1939, p. 73).

HABARA, examining published materials, concludes: "Their (the Ainus') settlements are built in a uniform direction on the bank of a river or lake in order to meet the necessity of their economic life and the requirements of their religion born of such life" (ibid, p. 69).

Referring to a similar habit among the Orok of Sakhalin, NAGANE reports: "The settlement, of a scattered pattern similar to that described for the Ainus, contained five small huts. All faced in one direction and had two doors each, one for the mountain and the other for the sea. The door for the mountain seemed in everyday use. They were coastal houses, apparently after the style of winter houses" (NAGANE, 1935, p. 176).

778 60 The use and significance of the sacred window.—On the basis of the
776 data given by GREY and BATCHELOR, HALLOWELL pointed out the Ainu custom
342 of taking any part of the bear, and on certain occasions other game or fish, into the dwelling through a special window (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 143).

For the use and significance of the window an account is given by BATCHELOR (1901, p. 124). KINTAICHI states, "Implements of hunting and fishing are taken out of the house by this window, *kamui kush puyaru*, window for *kamui*, and never by the ordinary doorway. Game brought home also enter by this and no other way. Right below it you see a space, called *moshkaru*,
[825] set apart for depositing the game. In Ainu conception game of all kinds are *kamui*; an animal or fish taken by a household master is a guest coming on a visit to the fire-spirit of the house. The belief is that when the game arrives, the fire-*kamui*, invisible to human eyes, is at the window to greet and show in the *kamui* of the game. Hence the great sanctity in which the

Hence the great sanctity in which the
window is held at all times and the taboo of peeping therein as a gravest 778
violence." (KINTAICHI, 1937, pp. 118-9). The present writer also was informed 776
of exactly the same ideas and practices concerning the window from Kazari, 342
my informant from Otopuke. YOSHIDA gives the following information ob- [784]
tained from the Otopuke Ainu on his visit to Otopuke early in the 1900's:
the window, *kamui puyara*, is faced towards the North or the upper reaches
of the Otopuke river where *kamui* reside, and the *kamui* look into the Ainu
house through the window (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11).

Of the Sakhalin Ainu the sacred window of similar use and significance is reported. The name is *kamui kushi puyara*, window for *kamui* to pass through, or *inao kushi puyara*, window for the *inao*, one for taking out *inao*-offerings for the outdoor altar (NAGANE, 1925, p. 95).

Miss Gerda SMIDT of the National Museum in Copenhagen, called my [171]
attention to a fact that the Lapp house also has a special entrance for a bear
killed.

61 Spatial arrangement of the Ainu dwelling house, the associated struc- 342
tures and workshops.—Being inseparably connected with gathering activities, 343
these structures and workshops, together with their traditional pattern of [178]
arrangement (Figs. 1 and 6; p. 9) were fast discarded in comparatively recent
times with the conversion to agricultural life (Notes 7-8). Today what re- [538]
mains is a scrap of their names preserved in Ainu dictionaries and oral epics
known as *yukar*. Nor is there literature referable on the spatial orientation
of those structures and workshops that used to be annexed to the dwelling
house of the Hokkaido Ainu. For the Sakhalin Ainu, information is supplied
by YAMAMOTO concerning their dwelling house, food storehouse, dog-leashing
poles, lavatory, bear-cub cage, altar, ash- and refuse-heaps, etc., all arranged
on a prescribed pattern in their home settlement (YAMAMOTO, 1943, pp. 57-62).

The book indicates that the Sakhalin Ainu built their dwelling house, 342
altar and bear-cub cage in a relative position identical with their Hokkaido 343
Ainu counterparts as investigated by the present writer. The relative posi- 361
tion of the ash-heap in either case is also roughly the same. Some of the 778
storehouses were also in the same position. That the sacred window and the 184
altar apparently formed an axis likewise pointing up the stream flowing past
the settlement, may be inferred from a statement in the book that the Sak-
halin Ainu settlement was originally located, with their doors opening on the
sea and their backs to the mountain, on a seaside elevation near a river-mouth
ascended by the dog- and cheery-salmon (ibid., pp. 45 and 57) and also from
three accompanying sketch maps (ibid., pp. 55-56).

62 Social aspect of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes. 000

that when the time came he went down to a certain place on a certain tribu- 226
tary, where he made *inau*-offerings in a ritual for the fish and then watched 796
for their arrival. When they came, he had a number of his local group men [821]
visit the site daily to haul them by spearing. In either of the Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys, the rituals for the *chirai*, like those for the dog salmon, differed from the cherry salmon rites to be described below in that they involved a post-run or post-fishing ritual including the throwing of the mandible of the first-caught fish and the *inau* offerings into the stream.

The ritual for the cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui* or *ichaniu kamuichep*, took place at the approach or[1] the runs and was an observance on the level of the cooperative group as a unit. On the upper Tokapchi, on the bank of the main stream, close by the weir site, *tesh karu ushi*, shaved wooden sticks, *inau*, were set up by male members of the weir fishing group. The ritual over, the group immediately set to work together building the weir. In Otopuke where each local group was splitted into several minor *kotan* groups (p. 9), and each *kotan* group constitued[2] a weir fishing group (p. 44), the eldest member of each *kotan* seems to have been in charge of the pre-fishing ritual. The practice of offering the first cherry salmon to the fire-spirit is known from Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet at least. No post-fishing ritual was observed for the fish in either of the areas.

In Otopuke at least, *spun*, a kind of Tribolodon, was also called *kamuichep* and the first-caught fish of each family was offered to the fire spirit of their house. The fish was treated with neither a pre-fishing nor post-fishing ritual. The cults for those kinds of fishes remain to be explored in further details.

63 Chief of the bears and its subordinates.—The chief of the bears is re- 825
presented by different names in different parts of Hokkaido. A few examples 776
from a list of different *kamui* names relating to the bear ceremony (NATORI, 1941) are: *ponporokatok etok un kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the depth of Ponporokatok—Sorapchi area), *nupuri koru kamui* (i.e. mountain-owning *kamui*.—Mashike area), *nupuri noshiki un kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the middle of the mountains.—also Mashike area), *kamui ekashi* (i.e. *kamui* old man—Yoichi area), *kimun kamui* (*kamui* deep in the mountains—Shiraoi area), *medotushi kamui* (i.e. *kamui* deep in the mountains—Saru area). Still another name collected in Azuma by the present writer is *kimerok kamui*, *kamui* sitting in the heart of the mountain.

As is well known, the Ainu view is that the world of bears has its chiefs 825
and their family or subordinates and that the subordinates come as guests to the Ainu, who in due time send them back again to their chief. The view is clearly indicated, for instance, in the information collected by NATORI

1,2,[Errata: these should read "of" and "constituted"
^ ^ respectively. Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

825 (NATORI, 1941, p. 43) and the mythological stories collected by KINTAICHI (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153-154; 176-177). Nevertheless, the Ainu view according to which they established a territorial ordering or grouping of bears is indicated only in the writings of INUKAI as follows: "the Ainu in this district (i.e. Otopuke) believe that just as they themselves have from generation to generation lived in such a way as not to disgrace their *kotan* and family names, so the bears of the mountains with their definite ancestry—e. g. the Bears of the Mountains of Akan (at the head of the river Akan in Kushiro) or the Bears of Mt. Optateshke (at the head of the river Tokapchi) coming down from respective forefathers—behave themselves alike not to disgrace their ancestors" (INUKAI, 1942, p. 143).

773 64 The river along which the Ainu settled, its source and the high moun-
823 tain that harbours the source also played important parts in providing backgrounds for their mythology, as may be seen in KINTAICHI's material of myths collected in Saru (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 15, 66, 71, 88, 89, 153-154, 172, 176-177). The material contains some myths which clearly indicate the relation existing between the mountain of *kamui*, the large house standing on its top and the chief of the bears who lives there (ibid., pp. 153-4; 176-7).

CHIRI remarks that the *kamui-nupuri* or *kamui*-mountains rise as watersheds for most of the rivers and that they are associated with many legends of gardens for the *kamui* and mysterious lakes called *kamui to* on their summits (CHIRI, 1951, p. 11).

825 65 Return of the bear-spirit to the river source area.—In most of the writ-
776 ings hitherto published it is simply mentioned that the spirit of the ritually-
772 killed bear goes back to the 'land of *kamui*' or 'divine land' where its parent or chief lives, no reference being made to the spatial orientation of nature spirits which is so charateristic of Ainu cosmology. A survey guided in the light of the Ainu view of habitat unmistakably reveals the fact that the land so designated is not a mere divine land of imagination but an actual, spatially-oriented land of the chief of the bears. The fact is also borne out by scattered information hitherto published, such as that of a Saghalien Ainu headman who informs that "the bear ceremony is performed to send off the bear-spirit back to the mountain simply because that is where he came from and where the deity of the mountain lives" (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 254) or that from an Otopuke Ainu that "the *maratto* (the skull representing the spirit of the ritually-killed bear), guided by *niyash koru kamui* and *kotan koru kamui*, goes to the abode of *nupri koro kamui*" (i.e. mountain-owning *kamui*, chief of the bears) (NATORI, 1941, p. 63). Information similar to the last was collected by the present writer from Ushino, an informant from

Tokapchi. The Ainu belief that the spirit of the sent-off animal returns to 825 776 the specific mountain at the head of a river that is regarded as the abode of 772 the chief of the bears, is distinctively and minutely represented in some of their mythological stories (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153-154; pp. 176-177).

The only available information that suggests a territorial ordering of bears as laid down by the Ainu will be found in a quotation from INUKAI at the end of Note 63.

In spite of all such information, however, no attention has ever been paid [182] to the system of social solidarity, based on the territorial principle, which exists between the river group and the bears in the same river area.

66 Season for the bear ceremony.—Different writers and informers give 796 different times for the bear ceremony: September or October (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 121); mostly between late November and January to February (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 256); in and about Kutcharo at least, between December and January to February (SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126). The actual dates of the few festivals observed by Ainu hunters in recent times vary considerably as in the following cases: 25 November, 1939, for one performed by Oyamada at Rankoushi in Shikot (NATORI, 1941, p. 68); 16-17 December, 1939, for one observed by Ōno at Suwan in Kushiro (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, p. 96); 29 January, 1940, for another again by Oyamada at the same place (NATORI, 1941, p. 68). It must be noticed, however, that in the days [461] when the natives still lived in their traditional ways a limited period in winter was the only time for a whole settlement group to engage in festive activities which lasted for days or for any great number of people to come together from different settlements; as may be observed in the chart on p. 53 showing the cycle of gathering activities. A diary left by one of the earliest Japanese settlers on the middle Tokapchi (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937) records an invitation he received to a bear cermony at one of local Ainu households on 21 January, 1883 (ibid., p. 111) and another to one at a local headman's on 14 January, 1884 (ibid., p. 160). SARASHINA mentions that along the river Kutcharo or Kushiro bear ceremonies went round in succession from the upper to lower settlements (SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126; for a case of the ceremonies in modern times in the same area, see Note 67). Though no detailed information is available, such a custom appears to have been related in some way with the system described in the text by which a series of bear ceremonies were performed in sequence by different member local groups or settlement groups of each *shine itokpa* group.

67 Social aspect of bear ritual.—The so-called bear ceremony of the Ainu 796 in its traditional form is now only barely preserved among the small remnant 178

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/735 cont./

796 114 the festival in the little village of Kunnui located on Vulkan Bay, and the latter observed it in the village of Ssussuja, which lies on the river of the same name emptying into Aniwa /Aniva/ Bay.

● [776] Although the Ainu confer upon the bear the epithet "god," in that they call it Kimui-Kamui, or, according to Siebold, Hokjok-Kamui (4), and although they regard it, according to Dobrotworskij, as a son of the god of the mountains and forest or wilderness (Ainu nuburi-kamui (5) and treat it with superstitious fear and veneration, this does not in the least prevent them from killing and eating it -- but in doing so certain traditional customs and formalities must be observed in order to rid themselves of guilt and to avoid the revenge of its manes. 796 182 [114] Dr. Scheube, to be sure, thinks that the motive for both the bear festival (jomante) of the Ainu (6) and the fattening of the young bear preceding it is expiation, which is offered to the entire race of bears for the misdeed committed against it by them, but I cannot agree with this opinion at all. [781] In view of the utilitarian viewpoint toward everything, which is characteristic of the Ainu, too, I am more inclined to

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[113] 4 Scheube, loc. cit.. Siebold, Aardr.- en volkenk. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnological Explanations to the Discoveries of Van Vries/, p. 110.

[113] 5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/," supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imper. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, p. 41.

6. According to Mamia Rinsô, among the Ainu of Jesso the bear festival is called omsía. C. Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 189, 203.